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THE  
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

VOLUME FOUR









The History of Scotland  
Its Highlands, Regiments  
and Clans

By  
JAMES BROWNE, LL. D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES  
VOLUME IV



Francis A. Nicolls & Co.  
EDINBURGH      LONDON      BOSTON  
1869

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Drummond Castle  
*Photogravure from the Painting by Brown*

94139





Platanus Castle

For the sake of the old, the new, the old, the new

# The History of Scotland Its Highlands, Regiments and Clans

By  
JAMES BROWNE, LL. D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES  
VOLUME IV



Francis A. Nicolls & Co.

EDINBURGH

LONDON

BOSTON

1909

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# THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

## VOLUME IV

### CHAPTER I

#### CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

THE news of Mackay's defeat reached Edinburgh on Sunday, the twenty-eighth of July, the day after the battle, and threw the partisans of the government, who were there assembled, into the greatest consternation. In the absence of official details, the most gloomy accounts were given by a few terrified stragglers who arrived in the capital, and who believed that, with the exception of themselves, the whole of Mackay's army had been destroyed. In the state of disorder and confusion which prevailed, the Duke of Hamilton, the Commissioner to the revolution Parliament, summoned a meeting of the Privy Council in the evening, at which orders were issued to raise all the fencible men in the west, and to concentrate all the forces in the south at Stirling, to which point it was supposed Dundee (of whose death they were not aware) would be rapidly hastening; and on the supposition that Mackay was either killed or made prisoner, Sir John Lanier was ordered west to take the command.

But these precautionary measures did not quiet the alarms of the members of the Parliament, some of whom were for retiring immediately into England, and others

## THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

into the western shires of Scotland. At their entreaty the Duke of Hamilton agreed to adjourn the Parliament, on the next or following day, till October; but as such a step might tend to discourage the friends of the government, the Parliament, on meeting, adjourned its sittings for two days only. A proposal was made to set at liberty all the state prisoners; but it was negatived after some discussion, and a resolution adopted to confine them still closer than they had yet been, and to prevent all communication between them and their friends. But although they were cut off from the society of their friends, they, as Lord Balcarras, himself a prisoner, observes, had never before so many visits from their enemies, who, anticipating another order of things, made many excuses for their past conduct, protested that they had always wished well to the prisoners, and when an opportunity should occur, would give proofs of such disposition.

During two entire days the ferment continued in the capital, and every hour added to the fears of those who had most to dread from a counter-revolution. At length, when the minds of men were wrought up to the highest pitch of terror and dismay, intelligence was received of the death of Dundee, and shortly thereafter a despatch from General Mackay to the Duke of Hamilton arrived, giving an account of the battle, and of his safe retreat to Stirling. An event, so unlooked for and so important as the death of the only man in whom the hopes of King James rested, and from the decision of whose character the supporters of the revolution settlement anticipated the most fearful consequences, was hailed by the Duke of Hamilton and his friends with transports of joy. They had indeed good reason to rejoice, for although the battle had been disastrous to their forces, the loss which King James



## CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

had sustained in the person of Dundee was irreparable.

On arriving at Stirling Mackay met Sir John Lanier, who communicated to him the orders that had been issued by the government on receiving the news of his defeat. So decisive had the battle of Killiecrankie appeared to them that they had given up all idea of maintaining a position on the north of the Forth, all the country beyond which they meant to abandon to the victorious arms of Dundee, and to confine their operations to a defence of the fords of the Forth, and the pass and bridge of Stirling. In pursuance of this design orders had been sent to Berkeley's regiment, which was quartered in the county of Aberdeen, to retire upon Dundee, and Lanier had despatched an express to his own regiment, which lay partly at Alnwick and partly at Morpeth, to hasten down to Scotland. This plan, however, was disapproved of by Mackay, and he therefore, as he says, "resolved to alter these measures (knowing how hard a pull we would have) of the Scots war, if he left the north, which are absolutely the best men of that kingdom for the war, to the discretion of the enemy, where he would not only get great numbers to join him, but also take possession of towns and seize upon the public revenues, whereby they could form a fashion of government, and so have more plausible ways, not only to maintain but also to engross their party, than ever they have had."

For these reasons Mackay determined to take the field again without delay, and to give, as he observes, "some éclat to the service, and hinder the disaffected of the shires of Perth and Angus to rise in arms against the government," he resolved to march direct to Perth with the forces which were at hand, and place a garrison there. Fortunately some of the troops which the

## THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Privy Council had ordered to rendezvous at Stirling were already there, and others were at hand. Preparatory to his march he sent Sir John Lanier to Edinburgh to hasten the advance of his own regiment, consisting of nine troops of horse, and also of Hayford's dragoons, consisting of eight troops, and ordered eight troops of horse, and four of dragoons, both of which had been newly levied, and Lord Colchester's regiment of horse, not above five hundred men in all, to join him at Stirling on the morning of Wednesday, the thirty-first of July. Many thousands of men in the western shires were now assembling of their own accord in consequence of Mackay's defeat; but disliking such auxiliaries, "whose pretensions" (he says) "appeared already exorbitant enough," and who, if employed, might think that the government could not be maintained without their assistance, he intimated that he would not require their services, and ordered them to return to their homes.

The horse and dragoons, having come to Stirling as directed, were reviewed in the park in the morning by Mackay. With these he departed for Perth at two o'clock in the afternoon, giving orders to a newly raised battalion of foot, consisting of Mar and Bargeny's regiments, to follow him. He halted at a village halfway between Stirling and Perth part of the night to avoid the risk of an ambuscade, and at break of day pursued his march towards Perth. On his way he could obtain no intelligence respecting the motions of the enemy, as he found the houses mostly deserted by their inhabitants, who had taken up arms and had gone to join the standard of King James. On approaching the River Earn, however, Mackay's scouts, who, to prevent too timeous notice of his approach, kept only a musket shot in advance, were saluted with a loud "qui vive" by two

## CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

horsemen. The scouts, four in number, answered this challenge by a discharge from their carabines, which brought down the two horsemen, one of whom was shot dead. The other was mortally wounded, and though he spoke a few words, was not able to answer some questions put to him for eliciting information. As Mackay conjectured from this occurrence, that the main body of the enemy was not far off, he altered his line of march, and, crossing a pretty steep hill to the north, reached the field of Tippermoor, a few miles west from Perth.

Having been informed at Tippermoor, that the enemy lay encamped at Dunkeld, and that a party of their horse and foot was in Perth for the purpose of carrying off some meal which had been sent thither by the Council for the use of Mackay's army, the general drew off his men to the left to throw himself between Dunkeld and Perth, and thereby cut off the party. When he had thus interposed himself he marched down upon Perth, but on coming within sight of the town he was disappointed to observe that about thirty of the enemy's horse had already crossed the Tay, and were beyond his reach. He proceeded on his march, and when within half a mile of the town he observed the foot party, which consisted of about three hundred Athole men, approaching. The Highlanders, who had not the most distant idea that there was a single enemy nearer than Stirling, were almost petrified with horror when they beheld such a large body of cavalry ready to pounce upon them, and for a time they stood quite motionless, not knowing what to do. Apprehensive that they might attempt to escape by a ford near the place where they stood, Mackay despatched four troops of dragoons at full gallop to prevent their passage. The whole party on the approach of the dragoons immediately fled back

## THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

in the direction of the town. As Mackay had no foot to follow them into the town, he sent three troops of Colchester's horse to cut off their retreat, whilst he himself followed close with the remainder of his horse in good order; and as he had no certain information as to the strength of the enemy in the neighbourhood, he left small detachments upon the heights near the town to watch lest any considerable force of the enemy might appear. The Athole men seeing that their retreat would be cut off, threw themselves into the Tay, whither they were followed by the horse and dragoons who cut them down in the water without mercy. Either from stupidity or obstinacy they did not call for quarter. About 120 of the Athole men were killed and thirty made prisoners. In this affair Mackay lost one man only, who had imprudently pursued to a distance a small party of the Highlanders.

This unfortunate rencounter, whilst it raised the expectations of the Revolutionists, threw a damp over King James's supporters, and augured ill for the success of Colonel Cannan, who had assumed the command of James's army on the death of Dundee. This officer, though a faithful adherent of his royal master, was altogether unfit for the command of such an army. He had little military experience, and was totally unacquainted with the habits, the feelings, and dispositions of the Highlanders. Had Dundee lived he would probably have carried his victorious army across the Forth, seized upon the capital and dispersed the government; but his successor did not know how to take advantage of the victory which had been obtained, and instead of marching instantly south, he merely advanced to Dunkeld, about sixteen miles from the field of the recent battle, where he remained encamped for several days, when the party he had sent to Perth was

## CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

attacked and almost destroyed by the indefatigable Mackay.

At Dunkeld, Cannan was joined by the Stewarts of Appin, the Macgregors and the Athole men under Lord James Murray, of which circumstance Mackay was informed soon after his arrival at Perth. In the meantime he took care to secure the town against attack by erecting palisades, and sent out patrols during the night to bring notice of the enemy should they approach the town. Cannan, however, made no attempt to disturb Mackay, and after passing several days at Dunkeld in inactivity, he raised his camp and proceeded northwards along the skirts of the Grampians with a force of about three thousand men. It was the intention of Mackay to have returned to Edinburgh to consult with the Privy Council as to the best means of speedily settling the peace of the kingdom, and to leave Mar and Bargeny's regiments and six troops of cavalry in garrison at Perth; but on hearing of Cannan's movement to the north he abandoned his intention, and after despatching orders to Sir John Lanier to proceed to Perth with all possible haste along with the horse and dragoons which were expected from England, he crossed the Tay with his whole cavalry force, consisting of nearly fifteen hundred men, leaving two battalions of foot behind, and advanced towards Cupar Angus. At Cupar he received intelligence from some prisoners who had been taken at Killiecrankie, and who had escaped on the march north, that Cannan had marched as far as Glen Isla, about eight miles from Forfar, where he had encamped. Mackay in consequence continued his march to Forfar, where he learned that Cannan had made another movement to Clova. To prevent surprise, and as his force was weak and consisted chiefly of new levies, Mackay placed his men in the fields under arms during



## THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

the night, and allowed them to repose and refresh themselves during the day, taking care however to send out some scouts in the morning and to place some sentinels upon the neighbouring heights to watch the motions of the enemy.

After passing two nights at Forfar in this manner, he received notice that Cannan had crossed the mountains and had entered Braemar. As Mackay considered that these movements of Cannan were intended by him as a ruse to draw him north, and that when Cannan had accomplished his object he meant immediately to recross the mountains and enter Angus, where he expected some reinforcements to join him, Mackay sent orders to Lanier to advance to Forfar, to serve as a check upon Cannan should he again enter Angus, and proceeded himself to Aberdeen, which he reached the second day, to the great joy, he says, of most of the inhabitants who were in dread of a visit from the Highlanders that very night.

On arriving at the Braes of Mar, Cannan was joined by the Farquharsons, the Frasers, the Gordons of Strathdown and Glenlivet, and by two hundred of the Macphersons. Keppoch and young Lochiel also met him. At Aberdeen, Mackay received an express from the master of Forbes, informing him that Cannan had taken up a very strong position upon his father's lands, having the Highlands at his back and a wood to cover him in front, and so well chosen that he could keep up a free communication with his friends in the lower parts of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. Judging that Cannan's object in selecting such a position was to strengthen himself in horse from the adjoining low country, of which species of force he stood in most need, Mackay, with the view of obstructing his levies, ordered Sir Thomas Livingston to leave the command of the forces at Inver-

## CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

ness with Sir James Leslie, and to repair immediately to Strathbogie with his regiment of dragoons, with instructions, should the enemy appear in that quarter, to march farther to the left across the low country, and to send him despatches from time to time, announcing the state of matters. At the same time he sent an express to Sir John Lanier, ordering him to send Hayford's regiment of dragoons to Aberdeen to strengthen him.

After remaining a day at Aberdeen, Mackay marched up Dee side to beat up Cannan's quarters, but learning on his march that the Highlanders had left Lord Forbes's lands and had gone north in the direction of the Duke of Gordon's territory, he drew off his men next morning at break of day towards Strathbogie, for the purpose of covering Livingston's march. At Kildrummy, whither Cannan had taken his route, he was joined by three hundred horse, a seasonable reinforcement, had Mackay ventured upon an engagement, but neither of the commanders was inclined to measure their strength with each other. Mackay, having nothing but cavalry, got the start of Cannan, and reached Strathbogie before Cannan arrived at the castle of Auchindoun, where he intended to fix his headquarters. At Auchindoun, Cannan was informed that Mackay was already at the castle of Strathbogie, a distance of about six miles. He, thereupon, called a council of war to discuss the expediency of giving battle to Mackay. A preliminary question was agitated by the Highland chiefs as to the right of the Lowland officers to sit in the council, who contended that as none of these officers had any troops under their immediate command, and were wholly unacquainted with the discipline of the Highlanders and their mode of fighting, they had no right to deliberate on the subject, and were unable to form a correct judgment on the question they were

## THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

called upon to discuss. The decision of this point lay with Cannan, who, by the advice of the Earl of Dunfermline, decided the question against the Highlanders. A judgment more unfortunate to the cause of King James could not have been pronounced, as it gave rise to jealousies and strifes among the officers, and when the question whether a battle should be hazarded was put to the vote, the clans, who were for fighting Mackay immediately, found themselves in a minority. This was followed by a resolution to return to Athole, the reason for which will be mentioned anon. As matters stood, the chances of victory on either side may be considered to have been pretty fairly balanced, but subsequent events showed that Cannan in the present instance omitted the best opportunity he was ever destined to have of gaining a victory which might have decided the fate of Scotland.

In the meantime, Mackay, who had been joined by Livingston's dragoons the evening of the day he arrived at Strathbogie, selected ground suitable for the description of force he had with him. Ever since he left Perth, his men had slept in the open fields without a tent to cover them, and they had been greatly pinched for provisions. So hurriedly had Mackay left Aberdeen, that he did not wait for some bread which had been ordered to be prepared for his men, and so uncertain was he of the route he might take, that he could give no directions for sending it after him. The want of provisions was a serious obstacle, and he found on his arrival at Strathbogie, that without a supply, for which he relied on Aberdeen, he could not proceed farther. Being apprehensive that the Duke of Gordon's tenants would acquaint the enemy of the stations of his outposts, who might, should an attack upon him be contemplated during the night, attempt to elude them, he did not place



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his sentinels till it became dark, and thus prevented the country people from acquiring any knowledge of their positions. As he was desirous to show himself to the enemy as soon as he should be joined by Hayford's dragoons, which he daily looked for, he sent out next morning a party of a hundred horse under Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and on the following day despatched Sir George at the head of a larger party for the same purpose, but in another direction, as he had been informed that Cannan, in expectation of a second visit, had laid an ambuscade for the party. While waiting for bread for his army from Aberdeen, Mackay received intelligence that Cannan had raised his camp and was in motion towards the Dee. Although his men were almost worn out with extreme fatigue, being kept under arms every night for a considerable time, and only allowed an occasional repose by turns during the daytime, the general resolved to follow Cannan with all possible despatch.

The cause of Cannan's movement was owing to the following circumstances. The Privy Council, wishing to obtain possession of the castles of Blair and Finlarig, had sent a letter to Mackay at Strathbogie with instructions to proceed to these places before the rainy season should set in, for the purpose of reducing and putting garrisons into them. Mackay, in answer, stated his inability to undertake such a service in the face of the formidable force which lay so near him, and that he did not conceive there was any necessity for being in such a hurry, as from the proximity of these castles to the low country, he could make himself master of them at any time if sufficiently strong. But he observed, that if the Council was very bent upon the undertaking, they might direct Sir John Lanier to order some foot

## THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

and Berkeley's regiment to join him from Forfar, and with these and three battalions of the Dutch regiments, which had not been at the battle of Killiecrankie, then at Perth, to execute that piece of service. Upon receiving Mackay's answer, the Council ordered the Earl of Angus's regiment, known by the name of the Cameronian regiment, — a band of religious enthusiasts from the west, — to advance to Dunkeld, with the view, it is supposed, of supporting Lanier. Mackay was quite averse to the employment of these men, and he disapproved of the plan of posting them so near the Highlands, the effect of which, he observed, would be, that they would be instantly attacked, "because the enemy had not such prejudice at any of the forces as at this regiment, whom they called the Cameronian regiment, whose oppression against all such as were not of their own sentiments made them generally hated and feared in the northern counties." Accordingly, no sooner had they encamped at Dunkeld, than a design was formed by some of King James's friends in Athole to put them off, and a notice was sent to Cannan to return south with that view, in consequence of which, he raised his camp and proceeded suddenly towards the Dee, as already mentioned.

Mackay followed him in the direction of Cromar, and having ascertained, on arriving at the Dee, that Cannan had crossed the hills and entered the Mearns and Angus, he made a rapid movement down that river towards Aberdeen, as he did not consider it safe to venture his cavalry, which did not exceed twelve hundred men, among the mountains. On arriving at Aberdeen, he sent an express to Sir John Lanier announcing the advance of Cannan, and to prevent the Highlanders from making any inroads, he sent out small parties of his men to scour the neighbouring country. When

## CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

Lanier was informed of Cannan's approach, he left Forfar, where he was posted with his own and Berkeley's regiment, for Brechin, near which town the enemy had advanced. Some skirmishing took place between the advanced posts, with loss on both sides. The Highlanders, thereupon, retired to the hills, and Lanier, who was ignorant of the object of Cannan's march, returned to Forfar. Here he received orders from the Privy Council to march to the castles of Blair and Finlarig, in consequence of which he proceeded to Cupar Angus the following day, where intelligence was brought him from Colonel Ramsay, that the Highlanders were marching upon Dunkeld, and he was informed at the same time that the Cameronian regiment, which was disadvantageously posted, would assuredly be defeated, if not immediately supported. Instead of sending any instructions to Ramsay, who required his advice, Lanier delayed forwarding any answer till he should arrive at Perth the following day, "in which interim," says Mackay, "if the providence of God had not blinded Cannan, and disheartened his Highlanders from continuing their attack, the regiment had certainly been lost, for they had two full days' time to carry them, and all their defence was but low gardens, in most places not above four feet high."

On Sunday morning, the eighteenth of August, the Cameronians, in expectation of an attack, began to entrench themselves within some enclosures about the Marquis of Athole's house at Dunkeld. The country people, in parties of ten and twenty, appeared during the morning on the neighbouring hills, and about four in the afternoon a body of about three hundred men drew up on a hill to the north of Dunkeld, whence they despatched a messenger, who carried a halbert surmounted by a white cloth as a flag of truce, with a letter

## THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

without any subscription, addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Cleland, the commanding officer, of the following tenor: "We the gentlemen assembled, being informed that ye intend to burn the town, desire to know whether ye come for peace or war, and do certify you, that if ye burn any one house, we will destroy you." To which communication Lieutenant-Colonel Cleland replied as follows: "We are faithful subjects to King William and Queen Mary, and enemies to their enemies; and if you, who send these threats, shall make any hostile appearance, we will burn all that belongs to you, and otherwise chastise you as you deserve."

On the first alarm of the Highlanders' approach to Dunkeld, Colonel Ramsay sent up some troops of horse and dragoons under Lord Cardross to assist the Cameronians in case of attack. This party arrived at Dunkeld on Tuesday morning, but the Highlanders, not being yet sufficiently numerous, showed no disposition to attack the Cameronians that day. At night, Cleland received intelligence that the fiery cross had been sent round, and that a considerable gathering had taken place, and next morning the Highlanders began to appear in large parties among the hills, between whom and some detached parties of horse and foot which Cleland sent out to scour the country, some brisk skirmishing took place during the day. The Highlanders having retired, Cleland's forces returned to Dunkeld in the evening, where Lord Cardross received an order from Colonel Ramsay to return instantly to Perth, from an absurd apprehension that the cavalry could be of little use in defending the position occupied by the Cameronian regiment. When Cleland, who, according to Mackay, was "a sensible, resolute man, though not much of a soldier," was informed of this extraordinary mandate, he remonstrated with Cardross in the strongest manner against

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complying with it, as the safety of his regiment might be involved in the result; but his lordship pleaded his instructions, which gave him no discretionary power, and he departed for Perth the same evening. Cleland's obvious course was to have followed the cavalry, but though the danger was imminent, he disdained to abandon the post which had been assigned him, and prevailed upon his men to remain and meet the enemy at all hazards.

The parties which had appeared during the day consisted entirely of Athole men, whose numbers did not probably exceed five or six hundred; but in the evening they were joined by the whole of Cannan's force, amounting to nearly four thousand. To the great surprise and dismay of the Cameronians, this formidable body appeared at six o'clock next morning, being Wednesday, the twenty-first of August, on the hills about Dunkeld formed in order of battle. The situation of the Cameronians was now critical in the extreme. They had no alternative but to fight or surrender, for retreat was not in their power. A capitulation would have been the obvious course, but the great abhorrence in which the Cameronians were held by the Highlanders, gave faint hopes of obtaining the usual terms of civilized warfare from the inveterate host which hung over them on the surrounding heights. They, therefore, adopted the desperate resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity, and they hoped, that by posting themselves advantageously behind the walls and enclosures adjoining the village and Dunkeld house, they would be able to keep the Highlanders in check till some relief might arrive.

The Cameronian commander accordingly made the necessary preparations for defence. He first posted parties of his men in the cathedral and steeple, and in Dunkeld house. The remainder of his men he disposed



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behind the walls of the adjoining gardens and parks, and along some ditches which he caused to be thrown up to extend his line of defence. All these arrangements were completed before seven o'clock in the morning, about which time the Highlanders appeared moving down the hills towards Dunkeld. Desirous to gain possession of the town, to dislodge the Cameronians, or to draw off their attention from the points where he meant to direct his main attack, Cannan despatched a small train of artillery down a little hill near the town, accompanied by a hundred men clad in armour, who were followed by a party of Highlanders on foot. To prevent the Cameronians from escaping by the ford across the Tay, he sent two troops of horse round the town, who took up a position betwixt the ford and the church, while two other troops were placed at the opposite end of the town. When the party arrived at the bottom of the hill, they were opposed by a small body of men whom Cleland had posted behind a stone wall, but after some smart firing, this body was obliged to give way and to retire to Dunkeld house. Another party of the Cameronians, which had been posted at the other end of the town, was obliged also to retire. Having forced the outposts, the whole body of the Highlanders rushed furiously into the town, which they entered at four different points at once. The Cameronians, however, firmly maintained their ground within the enclosures, from which they kept up a galling and destructive fire upon the Highlanders, who in vain attempted to dislodge them. Finding their broadswords of little avail against the pikes and halberts of an enemy protected by stone walls, the Highlanders retired to the houses and the heights near the town, from which they kept up a sharp though ineffectual fire upon the Cameronians, who returned it with much better effect. The Cameronians, however,

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soon sustained a heavy loss in the death of Cleland, their brave commander, who, in the act of exhorting his men to stand firm to their posts, was mortally wounded by two bullets, one of which pierced his liver, and the other entered his head at the same instant of time, within an hour after the engagement commenced. Aware of his fate, he attempted to gain Dunkeld house, lest his men, seeing him expire, might become dispirited; but he was unable to reach the threshold, and expired in their presence.

During three hours an incessant firing was kept up on both sides, which might have continued for several hours longer without producing any definite result, unless, indeed, the ammunition of either party had become exhausted. Probably from the dread of such a contingency, which would have been fatal to the Cameronians, Captain Munro, to whom on the death of Cleland, the command had fallen, resolved to attempt to dislodge the Highlanders from the houses by setting the town on fire. He accordingly sent into the town several small parties of pikemen with burning faggots upon the points of their pikes to set fire to the houses in which the Highlanders were posted, and who executed their orders with such promptitude that in a short time the whole town was in a conflagration. The scene which the town now presented was one of the most heart-rending description. The din of war was indeed no longer heard, but a more terrific sound had succeeded, from the wild shrieks and accents of despair which issued from the dense mass of smoke and flame which enveloped the unfortunate sufferers. To add to the calamity, the pikemen had locked the doors of such of the houses as had keys standing in them, and the unhappy intruders, being thus cut off from escape, perished in the flames. No less than sixteen Highlanders

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were, in consequence, burnt to death in one house. With the exception of three houses, possessed by the Cameronians, the whole of the town was consumed.

The Highlanders, finding their ammunition all spent, and seeing that they could no longer maintain themselves among the ruins of the town, began to retire to the hills about eleven o'clock, after having sustained a loss of about three hundred men. The Cameronians, whose loss was trifling, on seeing the Highlanders depart, set up a loud shout, threw up their caps, beat their drums, and waved their colours in token of triumph, demonstrations which must have been exceedingly galling to the feelings of the Highlanders, who only four hours before had assured themselves of an easy conquest. It is stated in the Cameronian account of the battle, that an attempt was made by Cannan to induce the Highlanders to renew the attack, but they declined, for this reason, that although still ready to fight with men, they would not again encounter devils. To show their gratitude to God for "so miraculous a victory," the Cameronians spent a considerable part of the afternoon in singing psalms of praise and thanksgiving.

The Highlanders were greatly discouraged by the repulse which they sustained at Dunkeld, and they attributed the misfortune to the incapacity of Cannan, in whom they in consequence lost confidence. Perceiving that they could no longer keep the field with any probability of success under such a commander, they retired to Blair, and after entering into a bond of association to support the cause of King James, and for mutual protection, they departed for their homes, leaving Cannan and his Irish troops and the few Lowland gentlemen to shift for themselves. Cannan went to Mull and resided with the chief of Maclean.<sup>1</sup>



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In the meantime Mackay left Aberdeen for the purpose of joining Lanier, leaving behind him Sir Thomas Livingston, with his regiment and nine troops of cavalry, to keep the adjoining northern counties in awe. At Brechin he learnt that Lanier had received an order from the Privy Council to march into Athole, in consequence of which information he sent an express to him to delay his march till he should join him, a junction which he effected at Perth on the twenty-sixth of August. He thereafter left Perth, with the greater part of the forces which he found there assembled, and took the route to Blair. It was clearly the interest of James's party to have burned the castle of Blair, so as to prevent Mackay from placing a garrison in it to overawe the neighbouring country; but if such was the intention of the Highlanders, they were deterred from putting it in execution by a message from Mackay, who threatened, in the event of the castle being burnt, to raze every house in Athole to the ground, and to burn and destroy all the corn in that country. Mackay remained ten days at the castle of Blair, during which time many of the Athole people took advantage of an indemnity which he offered them, and delivered up their arms. Having placed a garrison of five hundred men in the castle, and given orders to raise a palisade and breast-work round it, he was forced to return to Perth in consequence of continual rains, which made him also forego a resolution he had entertained of marching to the head of Loch Tay, and, placing a garrison in the castle of Finlarig, belonging to the Earl of Breadalbane, who, according to him, was "one of the chiefest and cunningest fomenters of the trouble of that kingdom (Scotland), not for love of King James, but to make himself necessary to the government." The subsequent conduct of this nobleman fully corroborated this opinion. After the

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rains had subsided, a detachment of two hundred men under Lord Cardross took possession of Finlarig castle, notwithstanding the proprietor had, shortly before, taken the oaths to the government, and found bail for his allegiance.

While the death of Dundee seemed to give stability to the government in Scotland on the one hand, its safety appeared to be endangered on the other by the jealousies and dissensions which agitated the Parliament. Among the persons who had been instrumental in bringing about the revolution, there were some who, although they pretended a great zeal for religion, were impelled by no other motive than personal interest, and who, seeing that their expectations were not to be realized, and that all the offices of trust were monopolized by a few favourites about court, became factious and impatient, and were ready to seize the first opportunity that offered of overturning the government. Sir James Montgomery was at the head of this disaffected party, which, during the ensuing winter, held several private meetings. The result was, that a most extraordinary and unnatural coalition took place between the Jacobites and the discontented Presbyterians for the restoration of King James. By uniting their votes in Parliament they expected to embarrass the government, and make it odious to the people, and thereby pave the way for the return of the exiled monarch; but their designs were disconcerted by a discovery of the plot.

Mackay had now grown heartily tired of the service, and as his plans for the subjugation of the Highlands had been treated with indifference or neglect by the government, he became desirous to resign his commission, and retire to Holland, his adopted country, there to spend the remainder of his days in peace. There was certainly nothing in the situation of his native country

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at the period in question to induce him to remain. An unpaid, disorderly, and mutinous army; an oppressed people, a discontented nobility, a divided Parliament and Council; "church divided into two more irreconcilable factions, though both calling themselves Protestants, than Rome and Geneva," matters deemed of so little importance by the first reformers as scarcely to be mentioned in their writings, preferred by the "religious zealots" of those days to the well-being of the whole Protestant church, the Episcopal ministers who had been ejected preaching "King James more than Christ, as they had been accustomed to take passive obedience more than the gospel for their text," — these considerations all tended to disgust a man of a moderate and conciliating disposition like Mackay, and made him "look upon Scotsmen of those times in general as void of zeal for their religion and natural affection, seeing all men hunt after their particular advantages, and none minding sincerely and self-deniedly the common good, which gave him a real distaste of the country and service; resolving from that time forward to disengage himself out of it as soon as possible he could get it done, and that the service could allow of." Mackay, however, failed in obtaining even a temporary leave of absence during the winter by the intrigues of Lord Melville and Viscount Tarbet, who, as he says, suspecting an interview with William, who was then in Holland, to be the object of his proposed visit thither, were afraid that he would induce William to adopt a system different from that hitherto followed in the management of Scottish affairs.

Mackay, finding that he would not succeed in his application for leave of absence, began to apply himself with greater perseverance to accomplish his long-desired project of erecting a fort at Inverlochy, capable of containing ten or twelve hundred men, to keep the western

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Highlanders in check. In a communication which he made to King William on the subject, he requested to be supplied with three frigates of about thirty guns each, ten or twelve ships of burden, and three or four dozen of large boats, three thousand muskets, four hundred *chevaux-de-frise*, and two thousand spades, shovels, and pickaxes, with money sufficient to purchase two months' provisions for three or four thousand men. On receiving these supplies, he proposed to march with this force through Argyle about the end of March, as far as Dunstaffnage, where he meant to embark his men in the ships, and thence proceed to Inverlochy, and land them under the protection of the guns of the ships of war. No notice, however, was taken of this proposal either by William or his ministers, notwithstanding its importance was urged in repeated letters from Mackay, who, in consequence, grew quite impatient, and threatened to throw up his commission. At length the Privy Council having, at his request, written a letter to the king on the subject, he ordered the frigates to be sent down, with some arms and ammunition, and implements for commencing the work; but the required supply of money was not forthcoming, without which the expedition could not be undertaken. Anxious, however, to get the fort erected with as little delay as possible, Mackay offered to the Privy Council to proceed to Inverlochy with a select detachment of six hundred men, provided they would give him provisions for three months; but although a sum of five or six hundred pounds would have almost sufficed for this purpose, the Council pleaded the impossibility of raising the money. In this emergency he applied to the city of Glasgow, the magistrates of which undertook to hire vessels for transporting the detachment, and to furnish him with the necessary provisions, and such articles as he might require for

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completing the fort, in addition to those sent down from England. Major Ferguson, who was appointed to command this expedition, repaired to Glasgow; but he was detained there about five weeks waiting for the provisions. The news, however, of such an armament being in preparation, and a report purposely circulated by Mackay, that it was much larger than it actually was, having reached the Highlands, had the effect of preventing many of the islanders and the inhabitants of the adjoining mainland from joining Major-General Buchan, who took the field in April, 1690.

Before the arrival of this officer, the Highlanders had resolved to place themselves under the command of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, having in consequence of their defeat at Dunkeld, lost confidence in Cannan, as a commander. After that disaster, Lochiel and the other Jacobite chiefs had represented to James the precarious state of his affairs in Scotland, and the necessity there was for sending them aid; but James was too much occupied with preparations for resisting a threatened invasion of Ireland, by his son-in-law, to attend much to his Scottish concerns. He, however, sent over a vessel with some clothes, arms, ammunition and provisions, and a few Irish officers, among whom was Major-General Buchan, with a commission, as commander-in-chief, of all the Jacobite forces in Scotland.

On Buchan's arrival, a meeting of the chiefs and principal officers was held at Keppoch, to deliberate upon the course they ought to pursue. As no reinforcement had arrived from Ireland, and as the plot between the Jacobites and the disappointed chiefs of the Presbyterians, which had raised the expectations of King James's partisans, had been discovered, the meeting was divided in opinion, upon the expediency of renewing hostilities. Some, thinking the cause quite desperate,



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proposed to submit to the government, which they knew was quite disposed to grant them the most favourable terms; but this proposition was warmly resisted by Lochiel, who had great influence with his fellow chiefs. He stated that he had adhered to the cause of Charles II, at a time when it was more desperate than that of his royal brother now was, who was still at the head of an army in Ireland, and who had many friends in Britain, ready to declare themselves, when a fit opportunity offered; that under these circumstances, he considered they would disgrace themselves, if they abandoned the cause they had pledged themselves to defend, and that for his own part he would neither listen to terms from the government, nor lay down his arms, without an express order from King James himself. In consequence of this declaration, the meeting unanimously resolved to continue the war; but as the labours of the spring season were not over, they postponed the muster of the clans, till those should be completed; and in the meantime directed Major-General Buchan to employ the interval in beating up the enemy's quarters, along the borders of the Lowlands, for which purpose a detachment of twelve hundred foot was to be placed at his disposal.

When Mackay heard that Buchan had taken the field, he sent an express to Sir Thomas Livingston, — whom he had despatched north from Aberdeen to Inverness, with his regiment, in the month of January, to watch the motions of the Highlanders, — to keep a sharp outlook after Buchan, who, it was supposed, would probably make a descent upon the Lowlands of Moray or Banff. Sir Thomas had at this time, besides his own regiment of dragoons, three regiments of foot, and some troops of horse, under his command, posted in and about the town of Inverness. Hearing that Buchan was marching through Lochaber and Badenoch, Livingston made two

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successive marches up the country, in the direction Buchan was said to be advancing, but on both occasions he was obliged to return to Inverness, from the great difficulty he experienced in obtaining provender for his horses, and provisions for his troops, without seeing Buchan, or hearing anything concerning him. Having ascertained that the feeling of hostility towards the government was rapidly extending, and that it had even reached the clans, who had hitherto, in appearance at least, shown themselves favourably inclined to the revolution, Livingston, thereupon, despatched a letter to Mackay, acquainting him of the circumstance, and stating that if Buchan was not speedily opposed, he was afraid that by far the greater part of the northern counties would join him. That he might obtain early intelligence of Buchan's motions, and avoid the difficulties he had experienced in his former marches, for want of provisions, Livingston took up a position eight miles from Inverness, with a select body of twelve hundred men, consisting of his own regiment, which amounted to three hundred men, four hundred of Lesley's regiment, a company of one hundred of Lord Reay's Highlanders, three hundred of Grant's Highlanders, and two troops of horse.<sup>2</sup>

On receiving Livingston's despatch, Mackay sent orders to the different detachments which lay at Stirling, Glasgow, Dundee, and other places, amounting together to three thousand men, to assemble without delay at Perth, that they might be in readiness, should a general rising in favour of King James take place in the north, to support Livingston and to serve as a check upon the southern Highlands. He, at the same time, directed Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan, brother of King James's general, who commanded the forces in the city and county of Aberdeen, consisting of a battalion of Ramsay's

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regiment, the Cameronian regiment, and five troops of horse and dragoons, to march upon any point Livingston should direct.

In the meantime Major-General Buchan was advancing through Badenoch with the design of marching down Speyside into the Duke of Gordon's country, where he expected to be joined by some of the vassals of that nobleman. At Culnakill he held a council of war to determine whether to take up a position in that neighbourhood, where they would be secure from the attacks of Livingston's cavalry, or proceed farther down the Spey. As Buchan's force did not exceed eight hundred men, and as they were aware that a large force of horse and foot lay at Inverness, the Highland officers were unanimously of opinion that they should not advance beyond Culnakill, but should march the following day to Glenlochy, and encamp among the adjoining woods. Buchan, however, who appears to have been as incapable of conducting a Highland force, and as ignorant of the mode of warfare pursued by the Highlanders as Cannan, his predecessor, now second in command, rejected this advice, and, on the following day, he marched down the Spey as far as Cromdale, where he encamped on the last day of April.

Livingston was, at this time, lying within eight miles of Strathspey, on the grounds of the laird of Grant, where he received notice the same day from a captain in Grant's regiment, who, with a company of men, held possession for the government of Balloch, now Grant castle, in the vicinity of Cromdale, that Buchan was marching down Strathspey. Desirous of attacking him before he should have an opportunity of being joined by the country people, Livingston marched off towards the Spey, in the afternoon, and continued his march till he arrived within two miles of Balloch castle. As it was already



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dark, and the night far advanced, and as a difficult pass lay between him and the castle, Livingston proposed to encamp during the night; but not finding a convenient place, he, by the persuasion of one of his officers who was acquainted with the pass, and who undertook to conduct him safely through it, renewed his march, and arrived at the Dairirade or top of the hill above the castle at two o'clock in the morning. Buchan's men were then reposing in fancied security near Lethindie, on the adjoining plain of Cromdale, and the fires of their camp, which were pointed out by the captain of the castle to Livingston, showed him that he was much nearer the enemy than he had any idea of. Mackay says, that had Livingston been aware that the Highlanders were encamped so near the pass, that he would not have ventured through it during the night, having little confidence in the country people; nor would the enemy, had they suspected Livingston's march, left their former station and encamped upon an open plain, a considerable distance from any secure position, "just as if they had been led thither by the hand as an ox to the slaughter."

As several gentlemen of the adjoining country had sought an asylum in the castle on hearing of Buchan's advance, the commander, in order to prevent any knowledge of Livingston's approach being communicated to the Highlanders, had taken the precaution to shut the gates of the castle, and to prohibit all egress; so that the Highlanders were as ignorant of Livingston's arrival as he had previously been of their encampment at Cromdale. Such being the case, the commander of the castle advised him to attack the Highlanders without delay, and he himself offered to conduct the troops into the plain. Livingston's men were greatly fatigued with their march; but, as the opportunity of surprising the enemy should not, he thought, be slighted, he called his officers to-

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gether, and, after stating his opinion, requested each of them to visit their detachments and propose an attack to them. The proposition having been acceded to, the troops were allowed half an hour to refresh themselves, after which they marched down through the valley of Auchinarrow to the river. Finding a ford below Dellachaple, which he approached guarded by a hundred Highlanders, Livingston left a detachment of foot and a few dragoons to amuse them, while, with his main body, led by some gentlemen of the name of Grant on horseback, he marched to another ford through a covered way, a mile farther down the river, which he crossed at the head of three troops of dragoons, and a troop of horse, a company of his Highlanders forming the advanced guard. After he reached the opposite bank of the Spey, he perceived the Highlanders, who had received notice of his approach from their advanced guards at the upper ford, in great confusion, and in motion towards the hills. He thereupon sent orders to a part of his regiment, and another troop of horse to cross the river and join him; but, without waiting for them, he galloped off at full speed towards the hills, so as to get between the fugitives, — the greater part of whom were almost naked, — and the hills, and intercept them in their retreat. The cavalry were accompanied by the company of Highlanders which had crossed the river, and who are said to have outrun their mounted companions, a circumstance which induced the flying Highlanders, on arriving at the foot of the hill of Cromdale, to make a stand; but, on the approach of Livingston and the remainder of his dragoons and horse, they again took to their heels. They turned, however, frequently round upon their pursuers, and defended themselves with their swords and targets with great bravery. A thick fog, which, coming down the side of the mountain, enveloped

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the fugitives, compelled Livingston to discontinue the pursuit, and even to beat a retreat. According to Mackay, the Highlanders had four hundred men killed and taken prisoners, while Livingston did not lose a single man, and only seven or eight horses; but Balcarras states his loss at about one hundred killed, and several prisoners; and the author of the "Memoirs of Dundee" says that many of Livingston's dragoons fell.<sup>3</sup> A party of the Camerons and Macleans, who had in the flight separated from their companions in arms, crossed the Spey the following day; but, being pursued by some of Livingston's men, were overtaken and dispersed on the moor of Granish near Aviemore, where some of them were killed. The rest took shelter in Craigelachie, and, being joined by Keppoch and his Highlanders, made an attempt to seize the castle of Lochinellan in Rothiemureus, but were repulsed with loss by the proprietor and his tenants.

The news of the disaster at Cromdale was received with feelings of dismay by the partisans of King James at Edinburgh, who began to regret that they had not embraced an offer which had been made by King William for a cessation of arms. On the other hand, the friends of the government were elated with Livingston's success, and hastened the long delayed expedition to Inverlochy, under Major Ferguson, which accordingly set sail from Greenock on the fifteenth of May. Having obtained the consent of King William to march into Lochaber, Mackay made preparations for the expedition; and, although the Earl of Melville, the commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, gave him notice of some dangerous plots against the government both in England and Scotland, which might require the presence of a large force in the Lowlands to check, yet, as he considered the subjugation of the Highlands of primary importance,

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he resolved to proceed on his expedition; and, accordingly, on the eighteenth of June, marched from Perth at the head of about three thousand horse and foot. As his route to Inverlochy would bring him within a short day's march of the enemy, and as he was desirous, — agreeably, as he says, to a military maxim, “without necessity, to put nothing to an apparent hazard when the success is of great importance,” — to avoid an engagement in a country full of defiles and difficult passes till he should join the forces in the north under Sir Thomas Livingston, he resolved to march towards Strathspey, and thence through Badenoch into Lochaber. To conceal his design of marching north from the enemy, after entering Athole, he made a movement as if he intended to enter Badenoch by the nearest route, and then turning suddenly to the right, took the road to Strathspey. Having joined Livingston in Strathspey on the twenty-sixth of June, the united forces, after a day's rest, marched towards Badenoch.

The Highlanders, who, after their dispersion at Cromdale, had returned to their homes, had re-assembled on hearing of Mackay's approach; but, from the fewness of their numbers, they made no attempt to obstruct his passage through Badenoch. Being informed that they had taken possession of a strait and difficult pass through which they expected him to march, he, on the first of July, — the very day on which the celebrated battle of the Boyne was fought, — made a feint with four troops of horse and dragoons as if he intended to pass that way, for the purpose of deceiving the enemy; after which he suddenly changed his march to the left, having given orders, previously, to the officer commanding the four troops to retire and join his rear guard after he should have halted sufficiently long to give time to the country people in the neighbourhood of the pass to send intelli-

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gencers to announce his approach in that direction to the enemy. After traversing mountains and bogs, he entered Lochaber by Glenspean the same night and arrived at Inverlochy on the third of the month.

The site of the old fort, which had been erected by Oliver Cromwell, did not please Mackay, as it was commanded by a neighbouring hill; but, as a more eligible one could not be found, he commenced the work on the fifth of the month, and in eleven days the wall was raised to its full intended height of twenty feet from the bottom of the fosse, and palisaded round with a *chemin couvert* and glacis. Having finished the fort, which was named Fort William, in honour of the king, he was about proceeding to send a detachment into the isle of Mull to reduce it, but receiving despatches from the Privy Council announcing the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets, and requiring his return to the south as soon as possible, with as many of his forces as could be spared, in consequence of an expected invasion from France he marched from Inverlochy for the south on the eighteenth, leaving behind him one thousand men in garrison in the new fort. He arrived in Badenoch on the twentieth by easy marches, and leaving his army in camp the whole of the twenty-first to rest themselves, he went with a party of 150 horse and dragoons to inspect Ruthven castle, which the Jacobite forces had burnt the preceding year. Here he left the company of Lord Reay's Highlanders with instructions to the commander to raise a breastwork round an old square wall, within which the garrison might remain secure against surprise or attack. He then descended into Athole, and arrived at Perth on the twenty-sixth of July, being little more than five weeks since he set out on his long projected expedition.

During his absence Major-General Buchan and Colonel Cannan, each at the head of a select body of cavalier



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horse, had been scouring the low country. The latter, in particular, with two hundred horse, had attacked Lord Cardross's dragoons who were stationed in Men-teith, and had pursued them down as far as the park of Stirling. On his arrival at Perth Mackay was informed of the proceedings of Cannan's party, whence he sent orders to the troops at Stirling to march out in quest of them, while he himself, after receiving a supply of biscuit from Dundee, resolved to march from Perth with a detachment for the purpose of intercepting them; but Cannan had passed through the heights of Athole towards Braemar before the troops at Stirling left that town. Mackay followed after them for two days with a force of a thousand men, but was unable to overtake them. Being unprovided for a longer march, he returned on the third day to Stirling, whence he despatched three troops of Cardross's dragoons, and one of horse, to support the master of Forbes, who was guarding Aberdeenshire with four troops of horse and dragoons.

Buchan and Cannan, having united their forces, and being joined by Farquharson of Inveray, at the head of five or six hundred of Braemar Highlanders, descended into the adjoining low parts of Aberdeenshire, Mearns, and Banff to unite themselves to some of the country Jacobite gentlemen, leaving behind them a body of 160 men, to block up Abergeldie, in which Mackay still kept a garrison. They were at first opposed on their descent into the low country, by the master of Forbes and Colonel Jackson, with eight troops of cavalry, which was fully more than sufficient to have repulsed, in a level country, anybody the Highlanders could then bring into the field; but Buchan, having purposely magnified the appearance of his forces, by ranging his foot over a large extent of ground, and interspersing his baggage and baggage horses among them, inspired



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the master of Forbes and Jackson with such dread, that they considered it prudent to retire before a foe apparently so formidable in appearance, and their fears increasing after they had begun their retreat, they set off towards Aberdeen at full gallop, and never looked behind till they had entered the town, after a race of upwards of twenty miles.<sup>4</sup> Buchan, who had no immediate design upon Aberdeen, followed the alarmed cavalry, and such was the effect of the retreat upon some of the neighbouring noblemen and gentlemen, that some of them joined Buchan in the pursuit. The inhabitants were thrown into a state of the greatest alarm at this occurrence, and the necessary means of defence were adopted, but Buchan made no attempt to enter the town.

When Mackay received intelligence of this "disorder," as he terms the flight of Forbes and Jackson, he instantly despatched Colonel Cunningham with his own regiment, six companies of that of Beveridge, and ten companies of Kenmure's, amounting in whole to only three hundred men, and two troops of cavalry, to the north to join Jackson; but Cunningham was unable to effect a junction, as Cannan lay encamped between him and Jackson. As the fears of a French invasion had subsided, Mackay, on hearing of Cunningham's failure, marched north himself with Livingston's dragoons, and fourteen hundred foot, of the three Dutch regiments, and in such haste that he carried neither baggage nor provisions along with him; but on his way north, he learned that Buchan had left the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, and was marching southward. On hearing of Mackay's advance, Buchan drew off his men to the right, and crossed the hills. Mackay was obliged to halt a few days for provisions, and in the meantime ordered Jackson to join him. On arriving at the Dee, he left Cunningham with a detachment at the castle of

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Aboyne, to cover Jackson's march, and proceeded with his own division to raise the siege of Abergeldie. In the course of this march, a party of sixty dragoons, under Major Mackay, fell in among the hills, with a body of two hundred Highlanders, under Inveray, all of whom were either killed or made prisoners. The chief himself made a very narrow escape, having been trampled under the horses' feet, and left for dead on the field, by the dragoons. Mackay also laid waste the fertile country about Abergeldie, to the extent of twelve miles round, and burnt from twelve to fourteen hundred houses, by way of reprisal for having blocked up the garrison.

Having united all his forces in the north, with the exception of those which lay at Inverness, Mackay marched as far north as Strathdon, where he received information, of rather a doubtful character, that the enemy were moving in the direction of the county of Moray, and were threatening Elgin. He obtained, however, other intelligence of a less equivocal description, namely, that the greater part of the north was hostile to the government, and was ready to rise in arms, which information made him at once resolve to proceed north with all possible haste with his cavalry, in order to get Buchan's force dispersed, before any general rising should take place. Leaving, therefore, his foot behind, whom he instructed to return to Aberdeen for a supply of provisions, should they receive no orders to the contrary in a day or two at farthest, he proceeded north with his cavalry in great haste, and in the course of his march was informed to a certainty that Buchan was not only on his way north, but that he expected to be joined by several thousand Highlanders. He, therefore, continued his march with great celerity, allowing his men no more time than was absolutely necessary for refreshing their horses, and arrived within four hours' march of the

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enemy, before they received any notice of his approach. Buchan had reached Inverness, and was only waiting for the Earl of Seaforth's and other Highlanders whom he expected to join him to have attacked the town, but on hearing of Mackay's advance, he crossed the River Ness, and retired up along the north side of the Loch.

The Earl of Seaforth, afraid of the consequences which might result to him personally, for the part he had acted, sent two gentlemen of his clan to Mackay, who apologized for his conduct, and stated that although in honour he was bound to make appear as if he favoured King James, yet they were authorized to assure Mackay that he had never entertained any design either to molest the government, or to join Buchan; and they offered, on his part, any security Mackay might require for his peaceable behaviour in time coming. In answer to this communication, Mackay stated that no security short of the surrender of the earl's own person, as a prisoner, would satisfy him, and that if he failed to comply, he might expect to see his country destroyed with fire and sword. Mackay was, thereafter, waited upon by the earl's mother, the Countess Dowager of Seaforth, and Mackenzie of Coul, who brought him a letter from the earl, stating that he would accede to such conditions as might be agreed upon between them and Mackay. An agreement was accordingly entered into, by which it was stipulated that the earl should deliver himself into Mackay's hands, to be kept as a prisoner at Inverness, till the Privy Council should decide as to his future disposal; and to conceal this arrangement from the Jacobite party, it was farther agreed that the earl should allow himself to be seized as if by surprise, by a party of horse under Major Mackay, at one of his seats during the night. The earl, however,

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disappointed the party sent out to apprehend him, in excuse for which, both he and his mother, in letters to Mackay, pleaded the state of his health, which they alleged would suffer from imprisonment. The earl cannot certainly be blamed for having demurred placing himself at the unconditional disposal of such a body as the Privy Council of Scotland, some of whom would not have hesitated to sacrifice him, if by doing so they could have obtained a share of his estates.

Mackay was so irritated at the deception which had been practised upon him, that he resolved to treat the earl's vassals "with all the rigour of military execution," pursuant to which resolution, he sent expresses to Sutherland, Strathnaver, and Balnagown, for a body of nine or ten hundred men, to be placed along with two hundred select men of Strathnaver's regiment, under the command of one Major Wishart, who knew the country well. While this force was to enter such parts of the earl's country as were inaccessible to horse, and burn all the houses of his vassals, and despoil them of their goods, Mackay himself intended with his cavalry, and three battalions of foot, which he had ordered from Aberdeen, to lay waste the lower parts of the earl's territory. Having, however, a warm feeling for the earl's friends, on account of their being "all Protestants, and none of the most dangerous enemies," as he says, and being more desirous to obtain possession of the earl's person than to ruin his friends, he caused information of his intentions upon the earl's lands to be sent to Seaforth's camp, by some of his own party, as if from a feeling of friendship to him. Contrary to Mackay's anticipation, Seaforth surrendered himself, and was committed prisoner to the castle of Inverness. About this time, the Earl of Argyle, with a force of nineteen hundred foot, and sixty dragoons, invaded Mull, the

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inhabitants of which took the oaths of allegiance to the government, and delivered up their arms. He was, however, from the state of the weather, obliged to leave the island, before effecting the reduction of Dowart castle, and left three hundred men behind him to keep it in check. Maclean himself, with a few of his friends, took refuge on Carnburrow, an inaccessible rock near Mull.

King James's affairs had now become utterly desperate in Scotland, and his defeat at the battle of the Boyne, on the first of July, 1690, almost annihilated his hopes in Ireland. Unable to collect any considerable body of men together, Buchan, after wandering through Locharber, dismissed the few that still remained with him, and along with Sir George Barclay, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, and other officers took up his abode with Macdonell of Glengary, and Cannan and his officers retired to the isles, under the protection of Sir Donald Macdonald. In their retreats, these officers who had displayed the most heroic attachment to the cause of the unfortunate king, under the most trying circumstances, still continued to cherish some distant hopes of his restoration, and were prepared to enter upon any service, however hazardous, which might, by possibility, lead to such a consummation.

At length, seeing no chance of making a successful effort in favour of James, they, in connection with the chiefs, sent over the Earl of Dunfermline to France in spring, 1691, to represent to him the state of matters, and to receive his commands. Having received instructions from his Majesty to enter into a negotiation with the government, a meeting of the principal officers and the Jacobite chiefs was held at Auchalader in Glenorchy on the thirtieth of June, which was attended by the Earl of Breadalbane on the part of the government,



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at which a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon till the first of October. To induce the chiefs to submit to the government, money and other inducements were held out to them by Breadalbane, at whose disposal a sum of £15,000 had been placed by King William. They, however, declined to come to any definite arrangement at this time, and requested liberty to send Sir George Barclay and Major Menzies to France to obtain the sanction of King James, to enter into a treaty with the government, a request which was reluctantly granted. After learning from these officers the miseries to which the clans were reduced, and the utter hopelessness of attempting another campaign under existing circumstances, James allowed them to make the best terms they could with the government. Accordingly, and in terms of a proclamation issued by the government on the twenty-seventh of August, 1691, promising an indemnity to all persons who had been in arms, and who should take an oath of allegiance to the government before the first of January following, all the chiefs, with one unfortunate exception, which will be afterward noticed, gave in their adherence, and took the oath within the prescribed time. Buchan and Cannan with their officers, in terms of an agreement with the government, were transported to France, to which country they had asked and obtained permission from their royal master to retire, as they could no longer be serviceable to him in their native land.



## CHAPTER II

### DUNDEE'S OFFICERS IN FRANCE

THE page of history does not present a more noble and disinterested instance of fidelity and stern attachment to the cause of fallen greatness than that exhibited in the conduct of those gallant men, who, after undergoing the greatest hardships, and exposing their lives to imminent peril, still clung, now that all hopes of King James's restoration seemed to be at an end, to the fortunes of the exiled monarch, with an inflexible pertinacity which no adversity could subdue. Individual cases, displaying the same devoted and deep-rooted attachment to unfortunate princes, are not uncommon; but to see a body of about 150 men, all, or the greater part of whom were gentlemen of family, and who might have retired with honour to themselves, and with the approbation of him whom they had so faithfully served to enjoy the sweets of domestic repose, simultaneously impelled by a high and chivalrous feeling of loyalty, sacrificing upon the altar of principle everything which could contribute to their ease and happiness, and expatriating themselves, is an occurrence which can scarcely be paralleled in the records of monarchy. The following account of Dundee's officers, after their departure for France, will serve to close the history of his ill-fated insurrection:—

When landed in France, these officers were sent to Lisle, Burburgh, Arras, and other towns in French Flanders, where they were supported and pensioned at

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the expense of the French government, according to the rank they respectively held in Dundee's army. Notwithstanding the reverses of Louis the Fourteenth, which impaired his finances, he continued his benefactions to these faithful adherents of King James; but as, from the loss of the French fleet at La Hogue and Cherburgh, and other misfortunes, they considered that the French king would not be in a condition, for a considerable time at least, to aid in the restoration of James, and as they did not wish any longer to be a burden on the French government without performing duty, they unanimously resolved to make a proffer of their services to Louis, and requested permission of James to allow them to form themselves into a company of private soldiers, under the command of such officers as they themselves might choose.

In making this application to King James, they assured him that their only motive in doing so was a desire to be as independent as the nature of their situation would admit of, and that they were ready and willing to fulfil all the duties required of common soldiers, until the course of events should enable his Majesty to recall them to his service. The king, while he commended their loyalty, and approved of the motive which actuated them, gave a decided negative to the proposal. It was impossible, he observed, that gentlemen who had been accustomed to command, and who had been brought up in easy circumstances, could brook such service, and undergo the hardships which always attended the duty of a private soldier; that having himself, when an officer in France, commanded a company of officers, he could speak from experience of the insuperable difficulties which were opposed to the step they proposed to take, some of the officers he commanded having soon died from fatigue, while others, wearied and disgusted

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with the service, sought for and obtained their discharges, so that the company soon dwindled away almost to nothing, and he got no reputation by the command. For these reasons he begged them to abandon the project. The officers, however, intent on their purpose, ultimately succeeded in obtaining James's consent to their being enrolled as a volunteer corps of private sentinels. The Earl of Dunfermline was pitched upon for captain, but partly by the entreaties of King James, who wished to have a nobleman of such tried fidelity and discretion near his person, and partly by the intrigues of the court of St. Germain, the earl was induced to decline the command. This was an unfortunate circumstance, as the officer who was selected in place of the earl did not act fairly towards the company.

Before proceeding to the station assigned to them by the French government, the officers repaired by invitation to St. Germain to spend a few days before taking leave of King James. Here an occurrence took place, which, though probably intended by the officers as a jocular demonstration, made a deep impression upon the mind of the king. Understanding that James was to hunt in the royal demesnes, in the neighbourhood of St. Germain, one morning, the officers, without any notice of their intention to the court, appeared early in the garden through which James had to pass, drawn up in a line, and dressed and accoutred as French soldiers. Somewhat surprised at the appearance of a body of troops in the garden at such an early hour, and little suspecting that the men whom he saw, clothed in the garb of common French soldiers, were his own officers, he had the curiosity to inquire who these men were, and on being informed that these were the gentlemen who had abandoned their country for his sake, he was seized

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with grief at the destitute situation in which he now beheld them, and instead of proceeding to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, retired to his palace to give vent to his sorrow.

In a few days thereafter, previous to their departure for the south of France, whither they were ordered to march, about seventy of these officers were reviewed in the garden by King James, who, at the conclusion of the review, addressed them as follows:—

“GENTLEMEN:—My own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours. It grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the stations of private sentinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and that of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the Prince of Orange, and who, I know, will be ready on all occasions to serve me and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done and undergone for your loyalty hath made so deep an impression on my heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetful of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions but which you have just pretensions to. As for my son, your prince, he is of your own blood,—a child capable of any impression, and as his education will be from you, it is not supposable that he can forget your merits.

“At your own desires you are now going a long march, far distant from me. I have taken care to provide you with money, shoes, stockings, and other necessaries. Fear God, and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your parent and king.”



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When he had done speaking, he went to the head of the line, and passing along, stopped and conversed with every individual officer, asked his name, which he immediately noted down in his pocketbook. Resuming his former position, he took off his hat, and praying God to bless and prosper them, he made a most gracious bow, and retired. Overcome by his feelings, he returned a second time, made another bow, and burst into tears. The officers, to testify their sense of this mark of royal sympathy, knelt simultaneously down, and bowing their heads, remained for some time motionless and in profound silence, with their heads fixed upon the ground. On rising, they passed before his Majesty with the accustomed honours. About a month after, another division, consisting of fifty officers, was reviewed by James, who noticed them in a similar manner.

Perpignan in the south of France, to which these volunteers were appointed to march, is about nine hundred miles from St. Germain, but great as the distance was, they bore the difficulties of the march with extraordinary fortitude and patience. These difficulties were, however, greatly alleviated by the kind attentions which were paid to them by the magistrates and leading men of the different towns and villages through which they passed, all of whom interested themselves to provide them with the best accommodation, by billeting them on the richest inhabitants. The affability of their deportment, their sufferings, their disinterestedness, and the singularity of their situation made them favourites wherever they came, and the history of the Scottish gentlemen volunteers became the general theme of admiration. They were noticed in a particular manner by the young ladies, crowds of whom were to be seen every morning walking on the parade to take a parting glance at the unfortunate strangers.

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When they arrived at Perpignan, they went to the house of Lieutenant-General Shaseron, before which they drew up in line. Hearing of their arrival, the whole ladies in the town assembled "to see so many worthy gentlemen for their loyalty and honour, reduced to the unhappy state of private sentinels." These ladies were affected to tears on beholding this gallant band, and commiserating the destitute situation of the unfortunate strangers, they presented the commanding officer, according to common report, with a purse of two hundred pistoles for their behoof, but which, it is asserted, was kept up by the officer to whom it was entrusted. Having spent all their money on their march, and finding the daily pittance of three pence, and a pound and a half of bread, the pay and allowance of a common soldier, quite inadequate for their support, they were obliged to dispose of their scarlet clothes, laced and embroidered vests, shirts, watches, and rings, which were exposed occasionally for public sale in the streets of Perpignan and Canet, from November, 1692, to the first of May, 1693, when they went to camp.

From Perpignan the corps marched to Canet, on the coast of the Mediterranean, where they were incorporated with another body, which had arrived there some time before them. At Canet the officers laid aside their usual dress, and put on the French uniform. They were then instructed in the French exercise, and by the modesty of their demeanour, and the patience with which they underwent the fatigues of drill, they excited the sympathy of the French officers, who treated them with very great respect and attention. About the middle of March, 1693, they were joined by a company under Major Rutherford, and by a corps of veterans, under Captain John Foster, who had served in Dumbarton's regiment. The meeting of these different bodies tended

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greatly to alleviate their common sufferings, as they occasionally kept up a social intercourse, drinking whenever they met to the health of the king, and devising plans for his restoration.

Before these different companies were marched into camp, they were ordered to return to Perpignan to be reviewed by Marshal de Noailles. Their appearance, on the morning of their march from Canet, was extremely affecting, as they had now no longer any part of their former dress remaining, and were so completely metamorphosed, that they could not be distinguished from the common soldiers of the country. The marshal was so well pleased with the appearance of the volunteers when passing in review, that he ordered them to march before him a second time, and presented them with a mule, which cost him fifty pistoles, to carry their tents. The officers observing some of the inhabitants of Perpignan, who attended the review, wearing the apparel which they had purchased from them, amused themselves with jocular remarks on the appearance of the burgesses in their "old clothes."

After the review was over, the corps returned to Canet the same evening, where they remained some days, and on the first of May, 1693, they began their march for Spain to join the army which invested the city of Roses. In their march across the Pyrenean mountains they suffered very much from fatigue, as they were obliged to carry their provisions, kettles, tent-poles, pins, and other utensils. They arrived at the French camp at Roses on the twentieth of May, and immediately entered upon the service of the siege. As the besieging army was wholly unprovided with pioneers, the officers volunteered to act as such, and in that capacity they employed themselves in the fatiguing and hazardous duty of hewing wood, making fascines,

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and raising batteries against the town. In addition to this labour, they also joined volunteer foraging parties, in which service, particularly when there was any probability of engaging parties of the enemy, they mounted double the required complement of men. They also took a share occasionally in the lighter duties of piquets, as a relaxation from the heavier toils of the camp. But arduous as these were, the Scotch officers, from their cheerfulness and alacrity, would have surmounted them all, if the unhealthiness of the climate had not speedily impaired their constitutions. In the valley of Lampardo, where Roses is situated, the water is so scarce and so muddy, and the climate so unhealthy for foreigners, that when Charles II of Spain heard that Marshal de Noailles had encamped his army there, he said publicly at court that he wanted no army to fight them, as the climate would fight for him. Besides the unhealthiness of the climate, the Scotch officers had to combat another enemy to their constitutions in the shape of sardines, horse-beans and garlic, which, with muddy water, formed the only food they could obtain. The consequence was, that in a short time many of them were seized with fevers and fluxes; but although every entreaty was used by some Irish officers with whom the climate and diet agreed better, to induce them to return to Perpignan, and enter the hospital, they insisted continuing in the camp, and performing the duty they had voluntarily undertaken.

The first occasion on which the officers distinguished themselves was in a sally which the Spaniards made from the town. These officers, along with some detachments of Irish, having mounted the trenches, the Spaniards made several sallies out of the town into a field of barley; but they were repulsed by an equal number of the officers three several times, who drove them back to

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the drawbridge which they had crossed in presence of the French army and the garrison. A French major-general, who observed the struggle, asked Colonel Scot, who commanded in the trenches, why one detachment only had attacked the enemy, and not the others. Without returning a direct answer, Colonel Scot told him that the attacking party was composed of the Scotch officers, and that the others were Irish. The major-general, intending to pay a compliment to the Scots, observed with a smile that he had often heard that Scotland and Ireland were two distinct kingdoms, but he never knew the difference before. Such is the account given by the author of the memoirs of Dundee's officers, which, if true, shows that the Frenchman was ignorant of the character of Irishmen, who certainly are not behind any other nation in bravery.

On the twenty-seventh of May, Marshal de Noailles, having determined to make a grand attack upon the town, notified his wish that a select body of volunteers should mount the trenches. On this occasion all the Scotch officers, along with two other Scotch and two Irish companies, offered their services. Among the Scotch was a company of grenadiers commanded by Major Rutherford, with which the greater part of the officers was incorporated. It fell to the lot of the grenadiers to advance first towards the station assigned the volunteers at the trenches; but instead of marching in a direction to avoid the fire of the enemy, Major Rutherford, with rash but intrepid daring, led his men directly in front of a bastion where he was exposed to the fire of several pieces of cannon. Colonel Brown, at the head of the rest of the volunteers, finding himself bound in honour to follow the example thus set by Rutherford, was about following him; but the French commander, seeing the great danger to which the latter



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had unnecessarily exposed himself, sent one of his aides-de-camp with orders to him to retrace his steps, and advance to his station another way under cover of the trenches. He, accordingly, took another direction and posted himself at the station pointed out to him, which was behind a trench near the town. Had he remained only six minutes longer, his men would have been all cut to pieces by a tremendous fire which the enemy was ready to open upon them. After Colonel Brown's battalion had joined the position assigned it, which was on the left flank of the grenadier company, a brisk fire was opened upon the town, by which a breach was made in the walls. The besieged, apprehensive of an immediate assault, beat a chamade, and offered to surrender the town on reasonable terms; but the marshal's demands were so exorbitant, that the governor of the city refused to accede to them, and resolved to hold out in expectation of more favourable terms being offered. The firing was, thereupon, resumed on both sides with great fury, and the city, in a short time, capitulated. Eight of the grenadiers were killed, and Captain Ramsay, a brave officer, was shot through both legs, and died in two days. Major Rutherford also received a wound in his back, which proved fatal in three days. In an interview which the governor had with Marshal de Noailles after the city had surrendered, the former asked the French general who these grenadiers were, adding, at same time, that it was owing to the smart firing which they kept up, that he had been compelled to surrender, being afraid that such determined fellows, if longer opposed, would enter the breach. "*Ces sont mes enfans,*" — these are my children, answered the marshal with a smile, "these are the Scotch officers of the King of Great Britain, who, to show their willingness to share of his miseries, have



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reduced themselves to the carrying of arms under my command." On the following day the marshal took a view of his camp, and when he came to the officers' quarter he halted, and requested them to form a circle round him. After they had assembled he took off his hat, and proceeded to address them. He thanked them for their good services in the trenches, and freely acknowledged that, to their conduct and courage, he was indebted for the capture of the town, and he assured them that he would acquaint his royal master how well they had acted. This he accordingly did, in despatches which he sent to Versailles by his son, and the king was so well pleased with the account which the marshal had given of the behaviour of the Scotch volunteers, that he immediately went to St. Germain and showed the despatches to King James, and thanked him personally for the services his subjects had done in taking Roses.

To alleviate the privations of these brave men, Marshal de Noailles had the generosity to make an allowance to each of them of a pistole, two shirts, a night-cap, two cravats, and a pair of shoes; but it is distressing to find that part of these gifts was not appropriated, owing to the rapacity of the officers to whom the distribution of them was entrusted. Some indeed got a pistole without any of the articles of clothing, some a pair of shoes, and others a shirt; but many of them got nothing at all. Even an allowance of fivepence *per diem* from King James's own purse, which was paid monthly, suffered peculation, as it passed through the hands of the paymaster, who always made some deductions for shoes, stockings, shirts, broken swords, fusils, or other things, all of which were fictitious, as they were covered by an allowance called half-mounting, of which the volunteers do not seem at the time to have been aware.

After the termination of the siege, the strength of the

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greater part of the company was greatly exhausted by the sickness they had suffered. Even after the fatigues of the siege were over, many of them were again attacked by fevers, agues, and fluxes, to such an extent, that the marshal requested them to leave the camp, and select a healthy place of residence till they should recover; but they declined his friendly offer, and told him "that they came not to that country to lie within rotten walls, when the King of France (who was so kind to their master) had business in the field."

Marshal de Noailles marched from Roses for Piscador about the middle of June, 1693, with an army of twenty-six thousand men; but the heat was so great, and the supply of water so scanty, that he was obliged to leave sixteen thousand of his men behind him on the road. Afraid that this division would be attacked in its rear by the Spanish army, the generals ordered all the piquets to be drawn out immediately to watch the motions of the enemy; but as the greater part of the army had not come up to the ground, the corporals could not get the required complement. In this dilemma, the Scottish officers, who were in the camp, mounted for their comrades, and marched to the parade of the piquets in such good order, and with such readiness, as to attract the especial notice of the French generals, who observed on the occasion, that "*Le gentilhomme est toujours gentilhomme, et se montre toujours tel dans le besoin, et dans le danger.*" — "The gentleman is always a gentleman, and will always show himself such in time of need and danger."

Leaving Piscador about the middle of July, they repassed some of the Pyrenees and encamped at Ville France at the foot of Mount Canigo, where they remained till about the twentieth of August, when they marched to Mount Escu, whence Major-General Wau-

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chope, with some Irish troops, went to Savoy. After making a second campaign on the plains of Cerdanna, the company of officers were marched back to Perpignan, where they arrived on the first of November. Many of them entered the hospital of the town, where sixteen of them died in a short time. After remaining twelve days at Perpignan, they marched to Toureilles to pass the winter. Their friends, who had heard of their sickness in Catalonia, had made application to King James, to obtain an order for their removal to a more healthy situation, which had been so well attended to by his Majesty, that on their arrival at Toureilles they received an order to march to Alsace, which, from the coldness of its climate, was considered to be more congenial to the constitutions of Scotchmen.

When Marshal de Noailles received this order he was much surprised, and, thinking that the officers had themselves applied for the order in consequence of some offence they had taken, he sent for Colonel Brown, the commanding officer, and after showing him the order, requested him to say, on his honour, if the gentlemen had received any affront from him or his officers, and he added, that if he or they had given any offence of which they were not aware, they would give them every satisfaction. He, moreover, declared, that from the respect he entertained for them, and the high opinion he had formed of their bravery and services, he had resolved, had they remained in his army, to have promoted them to the rank they had respectively held in the army of King James. He then expressed his regret at parting with them and bade them adieu.

On the fourth of December, 1693, the company of officers and the other two Scotch companies left Toureilles in Rousillon for Silistad in Alsace. Alluding to this route their historian observes, that the "gentle-

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men " were, in many respects, " very fit for that march; for the market of Perpignan eased them of that trouble they used to have in hiring mules for their baggage; so that when they left the country (of Rousillon) the most frugal of them could carry his equipage in a handkerchief, and many had none at all; and the fatigues and hardships of the campaign had reduced their bodies so very low that many of them looked rather like shadows and skeletons than men. Their coats were old and thin, many of their breeches wanted lining, and their stockings and shoes were torn and worn in pieces, so that by the time they came to Lyons, where they kept their Christmas, their miseries and wants were so many and great, that I am ashamed to express them. Yet, no man that conversed with them could ever accuse them of a disloyal thought, or the least uneasiness under their misfortunes. When they got over their bottles (which was but seldom), their conversation was of pity and compassion for their king and young gentleman (the prince), and how his Majesty might be restored without any prejudice to his subjects."

At Rouen in Dauphiny, they were left in a state of great destitution by Colonel Brown, who went to St. Germain, carrying along with him two months' gratification money, a term which they gave to King James's allowance of fivepence *per diem*; but notwithstanding the privations to which they were exposed by this other instance of the cupidity of that officer, they proceeded on their journey. Unfortunately, a famine raged in the countries through which they had to pass, which prevented the inhabitants from exercising the rites of hospitality, and as the winter was unusually severe, the ground being covered with snow for a considerable time and to a great depth, — the officers suffered under the combined effects of cold and hunger.

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On arriving at Silistad they were received with great civility by the governor (a Scotchman), the mayor of the town, and the officers of the garrison, who frequently invited them to dine and sup with them; but as hospitality necessarily had its bounds, at a time when provisions of all sorts were extremely scarce, and of course uncommonly dear, the officers soon found themselves compelled to part with articles which they had formerly resolved to preserve. They accordingly opened a kind of market at Silistad, at which were exposed silver buckles, seals, snuff-boxes, periwigs, ruffles, cravats, stockings, and other articles. At Perpignan, when exposing for sale their scarlet coats, embroidered vests, and other less necessary or less valued appendages, they used, in reference to other articles on which they placed greater value, to say, for instance, "This is the seal of our family; I got it from my grandfather, therefore I will never part with it." Another would say, "I got this ring from my mother or mistress. I will sooner starve than part with it." All these fine protestations, however, were forgotten or disregarded amidst the irresistible calls of hunger and the cruel assaults of penury; for as the author of their memoirs quaintly observes, "when the gentleman poverty came amongst them he carried off everything fair and clean, without any exception or distinction; and all the donor's returns were their healths toasted about in a bumper with a remnant of old Latin, *necessitas non habet legem*."

Although the officers remained upwards of a year at Silistad, they were not able from sickness and disease to make up a battalion; but notwithstanding their impaired constitutions, the governor of Silistad was heard often publicly to declare, that if besieged he would depend more upon the three Scotch companies, and particularly the company of officers, for defending



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the place, than upon the two battalions which composed the rest of the garrison. The governor was led to make this observation from an apprehension he entertained that Prince Lewis of Baden, who had crossed the Rhine with an army of eighty thousand men during the stay of the officers at Silistad, and who remained three weeks in Alsace, would lay siege to that town. But the officers had not an opportunity afforded them of proving the correctness of the governor's opinion of their courage, as Prince Lewis, on receiving intelligence that Marshal de Boufflers was advancing with a force of fifteen thousand horse and dragoons, recrossed the Rhine in confusion, leaving his baggage behind him, and with a loss of three thousand men who were drowned in the river in consequence of the bridges across the Rhine having been broken down by the prince in his retreat. At the time Prince Lewis commenced his retreat, he had a foraging party of a hundred hussars traversing and plundering the country, who, being apprised on their way back to the camp, that their army had repassed the Rhine, and that they were left alone on the French side, resolved, as they could not get across the Rhine out of Alsace, to make the best of their way to Basle, and information of this design being brought to Marshal de Lorge, the governor of Silistad, he despatched couriers to the commanders of the different garrisons which lay in their course to intercept them in their retreat. He at the same time sent out the company of Scotch officers, on whose courage he had the most unbounded reliance, to guard a pass through which he supposed the hussars would attempt to penetrate, a piece of service which the officers accepted of with great cheerfulness in return for the good opinion which the governor entertained of them. The hussars had in fact selected the pass for their route, but on approaching it



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they were deterred from their intention on being informed by a Jew that the pass was guarded by a company of British officers that lay in wait for them, and that if they attempted to go through it every one of them would be either killed or taken prisoners. They therefore retraced their steps, and seeing no possibility of escape, went to Strasburg, where they surrendered themselves; they boasted, however, that had not the company of Scotch officers prevented them they would have marched through in spite of all the garrisons in Alsace and crossed the Rhine at Basle in Switzerland.

Although the officers suffered even greater privations than they did in Catalonia, and had to bear the hardships of an Alsace winter, remarkable that year for its severity, which, from the great deficiency in food and clothing, was no easy task, the mortality was not so great as might have been expected, only five having died during their stay at Silistad. A report of their sufferings having been brought to King James by some person who felt an interest in the officers, he sent orders to their colonel to discharge such of them as might desire to withdraw from the service, and granted them permission to retire to St. Germain. Only fourteen however availed themselves of this kind offer. These, on arriving at St. Germain, were received in the most gracious manner by King James, who offered either to support them handsomely at St. Germain, or to send them home to their own country at his own expense. After thanking his Majesty for his generous offer, they requested that he would allow them a few days to consider the matter; and, in the meantime, an occurrence took place which, though trivial in itself, was looked upon by the devoted cavaliers as a singular event in their history from which important consequences might ensue. The "young gentleman," as the son of King

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James, a child of six years of age, was called, was in the practice of going to Marli in a carriage for his amusement, and one day when about entering the carriage, on his return to St. Germain, he recognized four of the officers whom he beckoned to advance. They, accordingly, walked up to the carriage, and falling on their knees, kissed the hand of the prince, who told them that he was sorry for their misfortunes, and that he hoped to live to see his father in a condition to reward their sufferings; that as for himself he was but a child, and did not understand much about government and the affairs of the world, but he knew this much, that they had acquitted themselves like men of honour, and good and loyal subjects; and that they had, by their sufferings in the cause of his father, laid him under an obligation which he would never forget. Then, handing his purse to them, which contained ten pistoles and three half-crowns, he requested them to divide the contents among themselves, and to drink to the healths of his father and mother. After taking leave of the prince, they adjourned to a tavern in the town called, singularly enough, the Prince of Orange's Head, "where" (says the narrator of the anecdote) "they spoke no treason, nor burned pretenders," but poured out copious libations to the health of the king and queen, and the young prince who, on that day, had exhibited a precocity of talent which they were not quite prepared to expect. Before breaking up a quarrel was likely to ensue among the officers for the possession of the purse, each claiming a right to keep it for the sake of the donor, but the discussion was speedily put an end to by some of the nobility of the court, who, hearing of the dispute, and dreading the consequences, sent a person, in the king's name, to require delivery of the purse, a demand which was at once acceded to. It is remarkable, that among all

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these officers who gave such extraordinary proofs of attachment to a Catholic king, there were very few Catholics, and that they included in their ranks several young divines of the Protestant Episcopal church in Scotland, who had joined Dundee when they saw that the object of the revolution government was to overthrow Episcopacy in that kingdom.

At an entertainment given at Silistad by Colonel Brown, on the tenth of June, 1694, to celebrate the birthday of the young prince, some symptoms of dissatisfaction were displayed by some of the officers at the bad treatment which they and their comrades had received from some of the superior officers, and one of them hinted that, if his Majesty was aware of the circumstances, they would not only lose their commissions, but would be excluded from the king's presence. The result was, that the company immediately separated, and all familiar intercourse between Colonel Brown and the officers ceased. Apprehensive, therefore, that the officers might, if they went to St. Germain, make disclosures of the peculation and robbery of the superior officers, an attempt was made to dissuade them from accepting the king's offer; but some of them went to St. Germain, as has been stated, and, as anticipated, made known to the king the wrongs they had suffered. Colonel Brown was at court at the time, and in consequence of the statements of the officers, and a violent altercation he had with the Earl of Dunfermline, who was a great favourite at St. Germain, had made himself so disliked that no gentleman would converse with him. Irritated at the disclosures made by the officers, he quarrelled with Captain Robert Arbuthnot, one of the fourteen officers who had repaired to St. Germain, which ended in a rencounter with drawn swords at the castle-gate of St. Germain; but, after several pushes, in which

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neither of them sustained any injury, the guards interfered and separated them. On the matter being investigated, Brown being in fault, was compelled to crave Arbuthnot's pardon.

To counteract the effect of the disclosures made by the officers at St. Germain, and to endeavour to restore himself to the good graces of the court, Brown drew up a certificate to be signed by the officers at Silistad, in which were stated many alleged good services which he had done to them, and he directed Colonel Scot and Major Buchan, to whom this paper was sent, to prevail upon the governor of Silistad, who had great influence over the officers, to obtain their signatures to it. A few were prevailed upon to subscribe, but many absolutely refused. On the writing being returned, Brown, or some other person, added the names of the officers who had declined to sign. The certificate was then presented to King James, but the imposition was speedily detected, and Brown was disgraced, and banished from court. In consequence of this exposure, the allowance of the officers was increased to tenpence *per diem*.

In February, 1694, the three companies marched from Silistad to Old Brisac, whence the company of officers was sent to Fort Cadette on the Rhine, where they lay a year and four months. Their next station was at Strasburg, where, in December, 1697, they especially signalized themselves. The occasion was this. General Stirk, who commanded the imperial forces, having appeared with an army of sixteen thousand men on the right bank of the Rhine, apparently with a design to cross it, the Marquis de Sell drew out all the garrisons in Alsace, including the company of officers, amounting to about four thousand men, and encamped them on the opposite bank over against Stirk, for the purpose of obstructing his passage, and to prevent him from carry-

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ing a bridge over into an island in the middle of the river, from which Stirk would be enabled to annoy the French army with his artillery. From the depth of the water, however, and the want of boats, which prevented the French commander from taking possession of the island, he had the mortification to see the imperial general openly throw a bridge of boats across to the island, into which he placed a force of five hundred men, who immediately raised a battery, behind which they entrenched themselves. Seeing the chagrin and disappointment which such an occurrence had occasioned to the marquis, the Scotch officers, through the medium of Captain John Foster, who then commanded them, volunteered to cross over to the island by wading through the water, and to drive the Germans out of it. The marquis, who appears at first not to have understood the plan of wading through the water, told Foster that, as soon as his boats came up, the Scotch volunteers should have the honour of leading the attack; but Foster having explained that they meant to enter the water, the marquis, in a fit of amazement, shrugged up his shoulders, prayed God to bless them, and desired them to act as they thought fit. Captain Foster, thereupon, returned to his company, and having informed the officers that he had obtained permission from the marquis to make the proposed attack, they, along with the other two companies, immediately made preparations for entering upon the difficult and dangerous enterprise they had chosen for themselves. Having tied their arms, shoes, and stockings around their necks, they, favoured by the darkness of the night, advanced quietly to the bank of the river, and taking each other by the hand for better security, according to a Highland custom, they entered the water with a firm and steady pace. After they had passed the deepest part of the



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river, where the water was as high as their breasts, they halted, and having untied their cartouch-boxes and firelocks, they proceeded quietly on their course, and gained the opposite bank unperceived by the enemy. They then advanced with their firelocks levelled, and when sufficiently near the enemy's entrenchments, they poured in a volley among the surprised Germans, who immediately fled in confusion towards the bridge which they had erected. The volunteers pursued them closely, and killed several of them, and others were drowned in the river in consequence of the bridge having been broken down by the fugitives. When information was brought to the Marquis de Sell that the Germans were driven out of the island, and that it was in full possession of the Scottish companies, he expressed his gratitude and admiration by making the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast; and declared that these officers had performed the bravest action he had ever witnessed. Next morning he visited the island, and after embracing every officer, he gave them his most hearty thanks for the important service they had performed, and promised that he would send an account of their brave conduct to the French king, who, on receiving the despatches, went to St. Germain and thanked King James in person for the eminent service his subjects had performed. The officers remained six weeks on the island, during which General Stirk made several attempts to retake it, but his endeavours were defeated by the vigilance of the officers, and seeing no hopes of being able to cross the Rhine, he abandoned his position, and retired into the interior. In honour of the captors the island was afterward named L'Isle d'Ecosse.

Alsace being thus relieved from the presence of an enemy, the company of officers returned to Strasburg



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to perform garrison duty. The last piece of active service they performed was in attacking and driving from a wood a body of hussars who had crossed the Rhine above Fort Louis. In this affair several of the hussars were killed, and they were forced to recross the Rhine with the loss of some of their horses and baggage. The negotiations at Ryswick, which ended in a general peace, now commenced; and King William having, it is said, made the disbanding of the Scottish officers a *sine qua non*, the company was broken up at Silistad, after the conclusion of the treaty. Thus ended the history of these extraordinary men, few of whom survived their royal master.

## CHAPTER III

### MASSACRE OF GLENCO

THE negotiation set on foot by the Earl of Breadalbane with the Highland Jacobite chiefs was broken off by the latter, principally at the instigation of Mackian or Alexander Macdonald of Glenco, between whom and the earl a difference had arisen respecting certain claims which the earl had against Glenco's tenants for plundering his lands, and for which the earl insisted for compensation and retention out of Glenco's share of the money, which he had been entrusted by the government to distribute among the chiefs. The failure of the negotiation was extremely irritating to the earl, who threatened Glenco with his vengeance, and, following up his threat, entered into a correspondence with Secretary Dalrymple, the master of Stair, between whom it is understood a plan was concerted for cutting off the chief and his people. Whether the "mauling scheme," of the earl, to which Dalrymple alludes in one of his letters, refers to a plan for the extirpation of the tribe, is a question which must ever remain doubtful; but there is reason to believe, that if he did not suggest, he was at least privy to the foul murder of that unfortunate chief and his people, an action which has stamped an infamy upon the government of King William, which nothing can efface.

In common with the other chiefs who had supported the cause of King James, Glenco resolved to avail himself of the indemnity offered by the government, and

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accordingly proceeded to Fort William to take the required oaths, where he arrived on the thirty-first day of December, 1691, being the last day allowed by the proclamation for taking the oaths. He immediately presented himself to Colonel Hill, the governor of Fort William, and required him to administer the oath of allegiance to the government; but the colonel declined to act, on the ground that, under the proclamation, the civil magistrate alone could administer them. Glenco remonstrated with Hill on account of the exigency of the case, as there was not any magistrate whom he could reach before the expiration of that day, but Hill persisted in his resolution. He, however, advised Glenco to proceed instantly to Inverary, and gave him a letter to Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlas, sheriff of Argyleshire, begging of him to receive Glenco as "a lost sheep," and to administer the necessary oaths to him. Hill, at the same time, gave Glenco a personal protection under his hand, and gave him an assurance that no proceeding should be instituted against him under the proclamation, till he should have an opportunity of laying his case before the king or the Privy Council.

Glenco left Fort William immediately, and so great was his anxiety to reach Inverary with as little delay as possible, that although his way lay through mountains almost impassable, and although the country was covered with a deep snow, he proceeded on his journey without even stopping to see his family, though he passed within half a mile of his own house. At Barkaldin he was detained twenty-four hours by Captain Drummond. On arriving at Inverary, Sir Colin Campbell was absent, and he had to wait three days till his return, Sir Colin having been prevented from reaching Inverary sooner, on account of the badness of the weather. As the time allowed by the proclamation for taking the

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oaths had expired, Sir Colin declined at first to swear Glenco, alleging that it would be of no use to take the oaths; but Glenco having first importuned him with tears to receive from him the oath of allegiance, and having thereafter threatened to protest against the sheriff should he refuse to act, Sir Colin yielded, and administered the oaths to Glenco and his attendants on the sixth of January. Glenco, thereupon, returned home in perfect reliance that having done his utmost to comply with the injunction of the government, he was free from danger.

Three days after the oaths were taken, Sir Colin wrote Hill, acquainting him of what he had done, and that Glenco had undertaken to get all his friends and followers to follow his example; and about the same time he sent the letter which he had received from Hill, and a certificate that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance to Colin Campbell, sheriff clerk of Argyle, then at Edinburgh, with instructions to lay the same before the Privy Council, and to inform him whether or not the Council received the oath. The paper, on which the certificate that Glenco had taken the oaths was written, contained other certificates of oaths which had been administered within the time fixed, but Sir Gilbert Elliot, the clerk of the Privy Council, refused to receive the certificate relating to Glenco as irregular. Campbell, thereupon, waited upon Lord Aberuchil, a Privy Councillor, and requested him to take the opinion of some members of the Council, who accordingly spoke to Lord Stair and other Privy Councillors; all of whom gave an opinion that the certificate could not be received without a warrant from the king. Instead, however, of laying the matter before the Privy Council, or informing Glenco of the rejection of the certificate, that he might petition the king, Campbell perfidiously defaced the certificate,

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and gave in the paper on which it was written to the clerks of the Council.

Whether in thus acting, Campbell was influenced by Secretary Dalrymple, who has obtained an infamous notoriety by the active part which he took in bringing on the massacre of Glenco, it is impossible to say; but it is not improbable that this man — who, a few weeks before, had exulted that as the winter was the only season in which the Highlanders could not escape, they could easily be destroyed “in the cold long nights” — was not an indifferent spectator to Campbell’s proceedings. In fact, it appears that the secretary contemplated the total extirpation of the clans, for, in a letter to Sir Thomas Livingston, dated the seventh of January, he says: “You know in general that these troops posted at Inverness and Inverlochie will be ordered to take in the house of Innergarie, and to destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel’s lands, Keppoch’s, Glengarie’s, and Glenco,” and he adds, “I assure you your power shall be full enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners.” In another letter to Sir Thomas, written two days thereafter, by which time accounts had reached him that Glenco had taken the oaths, he expresses satisfaction that “the rebels” would not be able to oppose his designs, and as their chieftains were “all papists,” he thinks it would be well that vengeance fell upon them. The Macdonalds were chiefly marked out by him for destruction, and after saying that he could have wished that they “had not divided” on the question of taking the oath of indemnity, he expresses his regret to find that Keppoch and Glenco were safe.

That no time, however, might be lost in enforcing the penalties in the proclamation, now that the time allowed for taking the oath of allegiance had expired, instructions

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of rather an equivocal nature, signed and countersigned by the king on the eleventh of January, were sent down by young Stair to Sir Thomas Livingston on the same day, enclosed in a letter from the secretary of same date. By the instructions, Livingston was ordered "to march the troops against the rebels who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity, and to destroy them by fire and sword;" but lest such a course might render them desperate, he was *allowed* to "give terms and quarters, but in this manner only, that chieftains and heritors, or leaders, be prisoners of war, their lives only safe, and all other things in mercy, they taking the oath of allegiance; and the community taking the oath of allegiance, and rendering their arms, and submitting to the government, are to have quarters, and indemnity for their lives and fortunes, and to be protected from the soldiers." As a hint to Livingston how to act under the discretionary power with which these instructions vested him, Dalrymple says in his letter containing them, "I have no great kindness to Keppoch nor Glenco, and it is well that people are in mercy, and then just now my Lord Argyle tells me that Glenco hath not taken the oath, at which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect, the worst of the Highlands."

The purport of this letter could not be misunderstood; but lest Livingston might not feel disposed to imbrue his hands in the blood of Glenco and his people, additional instructions bearing the date of sixteenth January, and also signed and countersigned by King William, were despatched to Livingston by the master of Stair, ordering him to extirpate the whole clan. In the letter containing these instructions, Dalrymple informs Livingston that "the king does not at all incline to receive any after the diet but in mercy," but he artfully adds, "but



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for a just example of vengeance, I entreat the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose." Lest, however, Livingston might hesitate, a duplicate of these additional instructions was sent at the same time by Secretary Dalrymple to Colonel Hill, the governor of Fort William, with a letter of an import similar to that sent to Livingston. From the following extract it would appear that not only the Earl of Breadalbane, but also the Earl of Argyle, was privy to this infamous transaction. "The Earls of Argyle and Breadalbane have promised that they (the Macdonalds of Glenco) shall have no retreat in their bounds, the passes to Rannoch would be secured, and the hazard certified to the laird of Weems to reset them; in that case Argyle's detachment with a party that may be posted in Island Stalker must cut them off."

Preparatory to putting the butchering warrant in execution, a party of Argyle's regiment, to the number of 120 men, under the command of Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, was ordered to proceed to Glenco, and take up their quarters there, about the end of January or beginning of February. On approaching the Glen, they were met by John Macdonald, the elder son of the chief, at the head of about twenty men, who demanded from Campbell the reason of his coming into a peaceful country with a military force. Glenlyon and two subalterns who were with him explained that they came as friends, and that their sole object was to obtain suitable quarters, where they could conveniently collect the arrears of cess and hearth money, — a new tax laid on by the Scottish Parliament in 1690, — in proof of which, Lieutenant Lindsay produced the instructions of Colonel Hill to that effect. The officers having given their parole of honour that they came without any hostile intentions, and that no harm would be done to the

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persons or properties of the chiefs and his tenants, they received a kindly welcome, and were hospitably entertained by Glenco and his family till the fatal morning of the massacre. Indeed, so familiar was Glenlyon, that scarcely a day passed that he did not visit the house of Alexander Macdonald, the younger son of the chief, who was married to his niece, and take his "morning drink," agreeably to the most approved practice of Highland hospitality.

If Secretary Dalrymple imagined that Livingston was disinclined to follow his instructions he was mistaken, for immediately on receipt of them, he wrote Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, who had been fixed upon by the secretary to be the executioner, expressing his satisfaction that Glenco had not taken the oath within the period prescribed, and urging him now that a "fair occasion" offered for showing that his garrison served for some use, and as the order to him from the court was positive, not to spare any that had not come timeously in, and desiring that he would begin with Glenco, and spare nothing of what belongs to them, "but not to trouble the government with prisoners," or in other words, to massacre every man, woman, and child. Hamilton, however, did not take any immediate steps for executing this inhuman order. In the meantime, the master of Stair was not inactive in inciting his bloodhounds to the carnage, and accordingly on the thirtieth of January, he wrote two letters, one to Livingston, and the other to Hill, urging them on. Addressing the former, he says: "I am glad Glenco did not come in within the time prefixed; I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together help. I think to harry (plunder) their cattle and burn their houses is but to render them desperate lawless men to rob their neighbours, but I believe you will be sat-

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isfied it were a great advantage to the nation that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off; it must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both their men and their cattle. Argyle's detachment lies in Lelrick-weel, to assist the garrison to do all of a sudden." And in his letter to Hill, he says: "Pray, when the thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you, and better not meddle with them than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers who have fallen in the mercy of the law, now when there is force and opportunity, whereby the king's justice will be as conspicuous and useful as his clemency to others. I apprehend the storm is so great that for some time you can do little, but as soon as possible I know you will be at work, for these false people will do nothing, but as they see you in a condition to do with them."

In pursuance of these fresh instructions from the secretary, Hill, on the twelfth of February, sent orders to Hamilton, forthwith to execute the fatal commission, who, accordingly, on the same day, directed Major Robert Duncanson of Argyle's regiment to proceed immediately with a detachment of that regiment to Glenco, so as to reach the post which had been assigned him by five o'clock the following morning, at which hour Hamilton promised to reach another post with a party of Hill's regiment. Whether Duncanson was averse to take an active personal part in the bloody tragedy about to be enacted is a question, the solution of which would neither aggravate nor extenuate his guilt as a party to one of the foulest murders ever perpetrated in any age or country; but the probability is that he felt some repugnance to act in person, as immediately on receipt of Hamilton's order, he despatched another order from himself to Captain Campbell

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of Glenlyon, then living in Glenco, with instructions to fall upon the Macdonalds precisely at five o'clock the following morning, and put all to the sword under seventy years of age.<sup>5</sup>

Campbell was a man fitted for every kind of villany, a monster in human shape, who, for the sake of lucre, or to gratify his revenge, would have destroyed his nearest and dearest friend; and who, with consummate treachery,

Could smile, and murder while he smiled.

With this sanguinary order in his pocket, he accordingly did not hesitate to spend the eve of the massacre at cards with John and Alexander Macdonald, the sons of the chief, to wish them good night at parting, and to accept an invitation from Glenco himself to dine with him the following day, although he had resolved to imbrue his hands in the blood of his kind-hearted and unsuspecting host, his sons, and utterly to exterminate the whole clan within a few hours. Little suspecting the intended butchery, Glenco and his sons retired to rest at their usual hour; but early in the morning, while the preparations for the intended massacre were going on, John Macdonald, the elder son of the chief, hearing the sound of voices about his house, grew alarmed, and jumping out of bed threw on his clothes and went to Inveriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered, to ascertain the cause of the unusual bustle which had interrupted his nocturnal slumbers. To his great surprise he found the soldiers all in motion, as if preparing for some enterprise, a circumstance which induced him to inquire of Captain Campbell the object of such extraordinary preparations at such an early hour. The anxiety with which young Macdonald pressed his question, indicating a secret distrust on his part, Campbell endeavoured by

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professions of friendship to lull his suspicions, and pretended that his sole design was to march against some of Glengarry's men. As John Macdonald, the younger son of Glenco, was married to Glenlyon's niece, that crafty knave referred to his connection with the family of Glenco, and put it to the young man, whether if he intended anything hostile to the clan, he would not have provided for the safety of his niece and her husband. Macdonald, apparently satisfied with this explanation, returned home and retired again to rest, but he had not been long in bed when his servant, who, apprehensive of the real intentions of Glenlyon and his party, had prevented Macdonald from sleeping, informed him of the approach of a party of men towards the house. Jumping immediately out of bed he ran to the door, and perceiving a body of about twenty soldiers with muskets and fixed bayonets coming in the direction of his house, he fled to a hill in the neighbourhood, where he was joined by his brother Alexander, who had escaped from the scene of carnage, after being wakened from sleep by his servant.

The massacre commenced about five o'clock in the morning at three different places at once. Glenlyon, with a barbarity which fortunately for society has few parallels, undertook to butcher his own hospitable landlord and the other inhabitants of Inverriggen, where he and a party of his men were quartered, and despatched Lieutenant Lindsay with another party of soldiers to Glenco's house to cut off the unsuspecting chief. Under the pretence of a friendly visit, he and his party obtained admission into the house. Glenco was in bed, and while in the act of rising to receive his cruel visitors, he was basely shot at by two of the soldiers, and fell lifeless into the arms of his wife. One ball entered the back of his head, and another penetrated his body.



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The lady in the extremity of her anguish leaped out of bed and put on her clothes, but the ruffians stripped her naked, pulled the rings off her fingers with their teeth, and treated her so cruelly that she died the following day. The party also killed two men whom they found in the house, and wounded a third named Duncan Don, who came occasionally to Glenco with letters from Braemar.

While the butchery was going on in Glenco's house, Glenlyon was busily pursuing the same murderous course at Inverriggen, where his own host was shot by his order. Here the party seized nine men whom they first bound hand and foot, after which they shot them one by one. Glenlyon was desirous of saving the life of a young man about twenty years of age, but one, Captain Drummond, shot him dead. The same officer, impelled by a thirst for blood, ran his dagger through the body of a boy who had grasped Campbell by the legs, and who was supplicating for mercy. Glenlyon's party carried their cruelty even so far as to kill a woman, and a boy only four or five years old.

A third party under the command of one Sergeant Barker, which was quartered in the village of Auchnaion, fired upon a body of nine men whom they observed in a house in the village sitting before a fire. Among these was the laird of Auchintrincken, who was killed on the spot, along with four more of the party. This gentleman had at the time a protection in his pocket from Colonel Hill, which he had received three months before. The remainder of the party in the house, two or three of whom were wounded, escaped by the back of the house, with the exception of a brother of Auchintrincken, who having been seized by Barker, requested him as a favour not to despatch him in the house but to kill him without. The sergeant consented, because, as he said, he had



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experienced his kindness; but when brought out he threw his plaid, which he had kept loose, over the faces of the soldiers who were appointed to shoot him, and also escaped.

Besides the slaughter at these three places, there were some persons dragged from their beds and murdered in other parts of the Glen, among whom was an old man of eighty years of age. Between thirty and forty of the inhabitants of the Glen were slaughtered, and the whole male population under seventy years of age, amounting to two hundred, would have been cut off, if, fortunately for them, a party of four hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, who was principally charged with the execution of the sanguinary warrant, had not been prevented by the severity of the weather from reaching the Glen till eleven o'clock, six hours after the slaughter, by which time the whole surviving male inhabitants, warned of their danger and of the fate of their chief and the other sufferers, had fled to the hills. Ignorant of this latter circumstance, Hamilton, on arriving at Cannelochleven, appointed several parties to proceed to different parts of the Glen, with orders to take no prisoners, but to kill all the men that came in their way. They had not, however, proceeded far when they fell in with Major Duncanson's party, by whom they were informed of the events of the morning, and who told them that as the survivors had escaped to the hills, they had nothing to do but to burn the houses, and carry off the cattle. They accordingly set fire to the houses, and having collected the cattle and effects in the Glen, they carried them to Inverlochy, where they were divided among the officers of the garrison. That Hamilton would have executed his commission to the very letter is evident from the fact, that an old man, the only remaining male inhabitant of the deso-

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late vale they fell in with, was put to death by his orders.

After the destruction of the houses, a scene of the most heart-rending description ensued. Ejected from their dwellings by the devouring element, aged matrons, married women, and widowed mothers, with infants at their breasts and followed by children on foot, clinging to them with all the solicitude and anxiety of helplessness, were to be seen all wending their way, almost in a state of nudity, towards the mountains in a piercing snow-storm, in quest of some friendly hovel, beneath whose roof they might seek shelter from the pitiless tempest and deplore their unhappy fate. But as there were no houses within the distance of several miles, and as these could only be reached by crossing mountains deeply covered with snow, the greater part of these unhappy beings, overcome by fatigue, cold, and hunger, dropped down and perished miserably among the snow.

While this brutal massacre struck terror into the hearts of the Jacobite chiefs, and thus so far served the immediate object of the government, it was highly prejudicial to King William, who was considered its chief author. In every quarter, even at court, the account of the massacre was received with horror and indignation, and the Jacobite party did not fail to turn the affair to good account against the government, by exaggerating, both at home and abroad, the barbarous details. The odium of the nation rose to such a pitch, that had the exiled monarch appeared at the head of a few thousand men, he would, probably, have succeeded in regaining his crown. The ministry, and even King William, grew alarmed, and to pacify the people he dismissed the master of Stair from his councils, and appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the affair, and pretended that he had signed the order for the massacre among a mass

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of other papers, without knowing its contents. This is the only defence ever offered for King William, but it is quite unsatisfactory. For, 1st, It is inconceivable that Secretary Dalrymple or any other minister, would have ventured to prepare such an extraordinary order without the express authority of his Majesty, or would have obtained his signature to it without first acquainting him of its purport. 2d, The fact that neither Dalrymple nor any other minister was impeached for such an act, makes it extremely probable that William was privy to its contents. 3d, The unusual mode of signing and countersigning the order would have made William desirous to know the import of such a document, had he not been previously aware of its nature. 4th, His refusal or neglect to order the principal parties concerned in the massacre to be brought to trial, after the Estates of Parliament had addressed him for that purpose, and the fact of his promoting those guilty individuals in his service, show that he could not do so without implicating himself.

Though the nation had long desired an inquiry into this barbarous affair, it was not until the twenty-ninth day of April, 1695, upwards of three years after the massacre, that a commission was granted. A commission had indeed been issued in 1693 appointing the Duke of Hamilton and others to examine into the affair; but this was a piece of mere mockery, and was never acted upon; but it now became necessary to satisfy the call of the nation by instituting an investigation. The Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and the other commissioners now appointed, accordingly entered upon the inquiry, and, after examining witnesses and documents, drew up a report, which was subscribed at Holyrood house, on the twentieth of June, and transmitted to his Majesty. The commissioners appear to

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have executed their task with great fairness, but, anxious to palliate the conduct of the king, they gave a forced construction to the terms of the order, and threw the whole blame of the massacre upon Secretary Dalrymple. As the substance of this report has partly been embodied in the preceding narrative, it will be here only necessary to give the conclusions to which the commissioners arrived: Upon the whole matter, they gave as their opinion, first, that it was a great wrong that Glenco's case and diligence, as to his taking the oath of allegiance, with Ardkinlas's certificate of his taking the oath of allegiance on the sixth of January, 1692, and Colonel Hill's letter to Ardkinlas, and Ardkinlas's letter to Colonel Campbell, sheriff-clerk, for clearing Glenco's diligence and innocence, were not presented to the lords of his Majesty's Privy Council when they were sent to Edinburgh in the month of January, and that those who advised the not presenting thereof were in the wrong, and seem to have had a malicious design against Glenco; and that it was a farther wrong, that the certificate, as to Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance, was deleted and obliterated after it came to Edinburgh; and that being so obliterated, it should neither have been presented to nor taken in by the clerk of the council. Secondly, that it appeared to have been known in London, and particularly to the master of Stair, in the month of January, 1692, that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, though after the appointed day; for he said in his letter to Sir Thomas Livingston, of the thirtieth of January, as above remarked: "I am glad that Glenco came not within the time prescribed." Thirdly, that there was nothing in the king's instructions to warrant the committing of the slaughter itself, and far less as to the manner of it, seeing all his instructions did plainly import that the most obstinate of the rebels might

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be received into mercy upon taking the oath of allegiance, though the day was long before elapsed; and that he ordered nothing concerning Glenco and his tribe, "but that, if they could be well separated from the rest, it would be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that set of thieves," an expulsion (say the commissioners) which plainly intimated that it was his Majesty's mind that they could not be separated from the rest of these rebels unless they still refused his mercy, by continuing in arms and refusing the oath of allegiance; and that even in that case, they were only to be proceeded against in the way of public justice, and in no other way. Fourthly, that Secretary Stair's letters, especially that of the eleventh January, 1692, in which he rejoices to hear that Glenco had not taken the oath, and that of the sixteenth of January, of the same date with the king's additional instructions, and that of the thirtieth of the same month, were no ways warranted by, but quite exceeded the king's foresaid instructions, since the said letters, without any insinuation of any method to be taken that might well separate the Glenco men from the rest, did, in place of prescribing a vindication of public justice, order them to be cut off and rooted out in earnest, and to purpose, and that, suddenly, and secretly, and quietly, and all on a sudden, which are the express terms of the said letters; and comparing them and the other letters with what ensued, appeared to have been the only warrant and cause of their slaughter, which in effect was a barbarous murder, perpetrated by the persons deponed against. And this was yet farther confirmed by two more of his letters, written to Colonel Hill after the slaughter was committed, viz., one on the fifth of March, 1692, wherein, after having said, "That there was much talk at London, that the Glenco men were murdered in their beds,



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after they had taken the allegiance," he continues, "For the last I knew nothing of it; I am sure neither you, nor anybody empowered to treat or give indemnity, did give Glenco the oath; and to take it from anybody else, after the diet elapsed, did import nothing at all; all that I regrave is, that any of the sort got away, and there is a necessity to prosecute them to the utmost." And another from The Hague, the last of April, 1692, wherein he says, "For the people of Glenco, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary to rid the country of thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself by showing all your orders, which are now put in the *Paris Gazette*; when you do right you need fear nobody; all that can be said is, that in the execution it was neither so full nor so fair as might have been."

The commissioners appear to have discovered no evidence to implicate the Earl of Breadalbane, but merely say, in reference to him, that it "was plainly deponed" before them, that, some days after the slaughter, a person waited upon Glenco's sons, and represented to them that he was sent by Campbell of Balcalden, the chamberlain or steward of the earl, and authorized to say, that, if they would declare, under their hands, that his lordship had no concern in the slaughter, they might be assured the earl would procure their "remission and restitution." While the commissioners were engaged in this inquiry, they ascertained that, in his negotiations with the Highlanders, the earl had acted in such a way as to lay himself open to a charge of high treason, in consequence of which discovery, he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but he was soon liberated from confinement, as it turned out that he had professed himself a Jacobite, that he might the more readily execute the commission with which he had been



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entrusted, and that King William himself was a party to this contrivance.

The report of the commissioners was laid before the Parliament of Scotland on the twenty-fourth of June, which, although it voted the execution of the Glenco men to be a murder, resolved *nemine contradicente*, that the instructions contained in the warrant of the sixteenth of January, 1692, did not authorize the massacre. After a variety of procedure at different sittings, "the committee for the security of the kingdom" was appointed to draw up an address to the king on the subject of the massacre, which, being submitted to Parliament on the tenth of July, was voted and approved of.

In this address the Estates stated, that in the first place they had found that the master of Stair's letters had exceeded his Majesty's instructions as to the killing and destruction of the Glenco men; that this appeared by comparing the instructions and letters; that in these letters the Glenco men were over and again distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders not as the fittest subjects of severity in case they continued obstinate, and made severity necessary according to the meaning of the instructions, but as men absolutely and positively ordered to be destroyed without any further consideration than that of their not having taken the indemnity in due time; and that their not having taken it was valued as a happy incident, since it afforded an opportunity to destroy them; that the destroying of them was urged with a great deal of zeal, as a thing acceptable and of public use, and this zeal was extended even to the giving of directions about the manner of cutting them off; from all which it was plain that though the instructions were for mercy to all who would submit, though the day of indemnity had elapsed, yet the letters excluded the Glenco men from this mercy.

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The Parliament stated in the next place that they had examined the orders given by Sir Thomas Livingston in this matter, and were unanimously of opinion that he had reason to give such orders for cutting off the Glenco men, upon the supposition that they had rejected the indemnity, and without making them new offers of mercy, being a thing in itself lawful, which his Majesty might have ordered; but it appearing that Sir Thomas was then ignorant of the peculiar circumstances of the Glenco men, he might very well have understood his Majesty's instructions in the restricted sense, which the master of Stair's letters had given them, or understood the master of Stair's letters to be his Majesty's additional pleasure, as it was evident he did from the orders which he gave.

They then inform his Majesty that they next proceeded to examine Colonel Hill's part of the business, and that they were unanimous that he was clear and free from the slaughter of the Glenco men; for though his Majesty's instructions and the master of Stair's letters were sent direct to him as well as to Livingston from London, yet as he knew the particular circumstances of the Glenco men, he avoided executing these instructions, and gave no orders in the matter, till finding that his Lieutenant-Colonel (Hamilton) had received orders to take with him four hundred men of his garrison and regiment, he, to save his own honour and authority, gave a general order to Hamilton to take the four hundred men, and put in due execution the orders which others had given him.

That as to Hamilton, the Parliament had required him to attend, but as he had not appeared, they had ordered him to be denounced, and to be seized wherever he could be found; and that having considered the orders that he had received, and the orders which he admitted before

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the commission he had given, and his share in the execution, they had agreed that from what appeared he was not clear of the murder of the Glenco men, and that there was ground to prosecute him for it.

As to Major Duncanson, who had received his orders from Hamilton, they stated that as he and the persons to whom he had given instructions were absent in Flanders, and as they had not seen these orders, they had only resolved, in the meantime, to address his Majesty either to cause him to be examined in Flanders about the orders he received, and his knowledge of the affair, or to order him home for trial.

The Estates stated, in the last place, that the depositions of the witnesses being clear as to the share which Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant Lindsay, Ensign Lundy, and Sergeant Barker had in the massacre of the Glenco men, upon whom they had been quartered, they had come to the conclusion that the said persons were the actors in the slaughter of the Glenco men, and that they had agreed to address his Majesty to send them home for trial for the said slaughter, according to law.

The Estates, therefore, humbly prayed his Majesty, "that, considering that the master of Stair's excess in his letters against the Glenco men has been the original cause of this unhappy business, and hath given occasion, in a great measure, to so extraordinary an execution, by the warm directions he gives about doing it by way of surprise; and considering the station and trust he is in, and that he is absent, we do therefore beg that your Majesty will give such orders about him for vindication of your government, as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit. And, likewise, considering that the actors have barbarously killed men under trust, we humbly desire your Majesty would be pleased to send the actors

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home, and to give orders to your advocate to prosecute them according to law, there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your government from so foul and scandalous an aspersion, as it has lain under upon this occasion."

As the surviving inhabitants of the glen had been reduced to great poverty and distress by the destruction of their property, and as they had conducted themselves with great moderation under their misfortunes, the Estates solicited his Majesty to order reparation to be made to them for the losses they had sustained in their properties. Whether the "royal charity and compassion" (how misapplied are these words when used in the present instance) invoked by the Estates in behalf of these unfortunate people were ever exercised does not appear; but it is highly probable that this part of the address was as little heeded as the rest. The murderers, instead of being brought to trial, were allowed by William to remain in his service, and some of them were even promoted; but what justice could be expected from a government which had the audacity to bestow a pension upon the most perjured villain that ever trod the earth, — the infamous Titus Oates! In fact, the whole matter was hushed up by William and his ministers, and the report of the Scottish Parliament, though drawn up as favourably for the king as possible, was carefully suppressed during his lifetime, a pretty sure indication that they were afraid to court a scrutiny into one of the most revolting and barbarous occurrences that ever disgraced any government.\*

## CHAPTER IV

### REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

To allay the excitement which the massacre of Glenco had created in the minds of the people against the government, advantage was taken by William and his ministers of a scheme proposed by Paterson, the celebrated projector, for establishing a company in Scotland for trading to Africa and the Indies; by countenancing which, they expected not only to stifle inquiry into the massacre, but also to engage the Scottish nation to support the measures of the government.

Accordingly, the commissioner to the Scottish Parliament was ordered by the king to declare, "That if the members found it would tend to the advancement of trade, that an act should be passed for the encouragement of such as should acquire and establish a plantation in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where plantations might be lawfully acquired, his Majesty was willing to grant to the subjects of this kingdom, in favour of these plantations, such rights and privileges as he granted in like cases to the subjects of his other dominions." Pursuant to this declaration, an act was passed, establishing a company for trading to the East and West Indies, with a variety of important privileges, and so eager were the nobility and gentry of Scotland for the success of a concern which appeared to promise many national advantages, that they advanced £400,000 to promote the undertaking. As the greater part of the isthmus of Darien or Panama had not yet been colonized,

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and as its situation was peculiarly calculated for carrying on trade with both the Indies, Paterson fixed upon it as the headquarters of his commercial association, which thence took the name of the Darien company.

No sooner, however, was the scheme promulgated, than a spirit of opposition was raised against it by the English House of Commons, instigated by the English East India company, which came to a resolution, that the directors of the Darien company had, by administering and taking "an oath *de fide*li, and, under colour of a Scotch Act of Parliament, styling themselves a company, and acting as such, and raising moneys in this kingdom (England), for carrying on the said company," been "guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour." Yet notwithstanding this direct attack upon the company, such was the favour in which it was held in England, that a sum of £300,000 was subscribed there, of which a fourth part was paid down; and even the merchants of Hamburg offered to embark £200,000 in the undertaking. But the Darien company might have surmounted the opposition of the House of Commons and the English East India company, had not the Dutch East India company—a body remarkable for its monopolizing character—also joined in the outcry against the Scottish enterprise. Intent upon their object, the directors of the company, in spite of every opposition, made the necessary preparations for taking possession of the intended settlement, and accordingly fitted out an expedition of five ships and twelve hundred men, which set sail from Leith roads on the seventeenth day of July, 1698. The greater part of the men who went out consisted of veterans, who had served in King William's wars, and the remainder consisted of Highlanders and others who had been opposed to the revolution, and about three hundred gentlemen of family,



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desirous of trying their fortunes. The expedition arrived on the coast in the beginning of November, and disembarked at a harbour near Golden Island, between Portobello and Carthagena. The new settlers were well received by the inhabitants, and as matters began to look well, the most favourable anticipations were entertained of the success of the enterprise; but the colonists had soon the mortification to find that the king had given way to the clamours of the two great English and Dutch rival companies, which he had resolved to gratify at the expense of the Darien company. In fact they found that proclamations, by order of William, had been issued by the governors of Jamaica and the English settlements in America, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, all intercourse with the Scottish settlers, or assisting them in any shape; in consequence of which, they were obliged to abandon the settlement for want of provisions and other necessaries. A second expedition shared a similar fate, and a third, much better provided and more numerous than either the first or second, capitulated to the Spaniards.

When accounts of the ruin of the colony reached Scotland, a feeling of universal dismay seized the nation, as if its only happiness in future was to have consisted in the fulfilment of those golden dreams which had floated in the vivid imaginations of the sanguine adventurers. Thousands of families, once in comparative opulence, now found themselves reduced to ruin, and the flower of the nation was either languishing in prison in the Spanish settlements, or starving in the English colonies. To the bitterness of disappointment succeeded an implacable hostility to the king, who was denounced, in pamphlets of the most violent and inflammatory tendency, as a hypocrite, and as the deceiver of those who had shed their best blood in his cause, and as the

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author of all the misfortunes which had befallen Scotland. One of these pamphlets was voted by the House of Commons a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burned by the common executioner, and an address was voted to his Majesty to issue a proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of the obnoxious publication; but although the proclamation was issued, no apprehension followed. The king was so chagrined at the conduct of the Scotch that he refused to see Lord Basil Hamilton, who had an address to present to his Majesty from the company, praying for his interference on behalf of their servants who were kept in captivity by the Spaniards. He, however, desired the Scottish secretaries to intimate to the company that he would attend to their request, and would endeavour to promote the trade of Scotland; but unsatisfied with such a declaration, the directors of the company requested the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, then in London, to urge his Majesty to receive Lord Basil Hamilton. Seeing no way of evading the importunity of the company, and neutralizing the ferment which prevailed in Scotland, the king threw himself upon the English Parliament. A motion, that the settlement of the Scottish colony at Darien was inconsistent with the good of the plantation trade in England, was carried in the House of Lords in favour of the ministers, after a warm debate, by a small majority. An address to his Majesty was then voted by the Lords, in accordance with this resolution, in which, after declaring their sympathy with their fellow-subjects for their losses, they approved of the prohibitory orders which his Majesty had sent to the governors of the plantations. The House of Commons, however, refused to concur in this address, chiefly, it is believed, from an antipathy entertained by a majority of the House at

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the Dutch, on account of the predilection shown by the king on all occasion to his countrymen. In his answer to the address of the Lords, the king having recommended a union of the two kingdoms as a measure eminently calculated for the good of both countries, a bill was introduced into the House of Lords, appointing commissioners to treat with commissioners from Scotland about a union; but this bill was rejected by the Commons from sheer opposition to the court.

In direct contradiction to the House of Lords, the Scottish Parliament voted that the colony of Darien was a lawful and rightful settlement which they would support; a resolution which induced the Duke of Queensberry, the commissioner, to prorogue the session. But this step only tended to increase the discontents of the nation; and, to show the king that the people would be no longer trifled with, an address to his Majesty, containing a detail of national grievances, and representing the necessity of calling an immediate meeting of Parliament, was drawn up and signed by a considerable number of the members; and a deputation, with Lord Ross at its head, was appointed to present the address to the king. His Majesty, however, evaded the address, by informing the deputation that they would be made acquainted in Scotland with his intentions; and, as if to show his displeasure, he ordered the Parliament to be adjourned by proclamation.

Exasperated at this attempt to stifle the just complaints of the nation, the promoters of the first address began to prepare a second one, to be signed by the shires and burghs of the kingdom. But before this new address was completed, the king, by the advice of the Duke of Queensberry, wrote a letter to him and the Privy Council for the purpose of allaying the national ferment, and which they immediately published. Although in

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this letter the king regretted the loss which the people of Scotland had sustained, and assured them that he had their interest at heart, and that they should soon have convincing proofs of his inclination to promote the wealth and prosperity of Scotland, and that his intended absence from England had obliged him to adjourn the Parliament, which he promised to convene on his return, yet, as William's sincerity was doubted, — the people wisely judging that the explanation was a mere state expedient, — the national excitement was increased instead of being diminished, by the promulgation of the letter.

The Scottish nation was now fully ripe for a rebellion, but neither James nor his advisers had the capacity to avail themselves of passing events, to snatch the tottering crown from the head of the illustrious foreigner, who was destined to be the happy instrument of placing the liberties of the nation upon a more sure and permanent footing than they had hitherto been. The hopes of the Jacobites were, however, greatly raised by the jarrings between the king and his Scottish subjects, and an event occurred, about this time, which tended still farther to strengthen them. This was the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, the only surviving child of the Princess Anne, who died of a malignant fever, on the twenty-ninth day of July, in the year 1700, in the eleventh year of his age. As the Jacobites considered that the duke stood chiefly in the way of the accession of the Prince of Wales to the crown, they could not conceal their pleasure at an occurrence which seemed to pave the way for the restoration of the exiled family, and they privately despatched a trusty adherent to France to assure King James that they would settle the succession upon the Prince of Wales. Such a proposition had indeed been made by William himself at an

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interview he had with Louis XIV in 1697, when a prospect opened of James being elected King of Poland on the death of John Sobieski; but this proposal was rejected by James, who told the King of France, that though he could bear with patience the usurpation of his nephew and son-in-law, he would not allow his own son to commit such an act of injustice; that by permitting his son to reign while he (James) was alive, he would, in fact, be held as having renounced his crown, and that the Prince of Wales would also be held as having resigned his own right, if he accepted the crown as successor to the Prince of Orange. As James had now given up all idea of a crown, and was wholly engrossed with the more important concerns of a future life, it is probable that he received the proposal of his friends in a very different spirit from that he evinced when made by William.

The designs of the Jacobites, however, were frustrated by the intrigues of the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, grand-daughter of King James VI, who had for several years contemplated the plan of getting the succession to the English crown settled upon her and her heirs. An act was accordingly passed by the English Parliament in June, 1701, at the desire of the king, whom the princess had prevailed upon to espouse her cause, declaring her to be the next in succession to the crown of England, after his Majesty and the Princess Anne, in default of issue of their bodies respectively, and that after the decease of William and Anne respectively without issue, the crown and government of England should remain and continue to the Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. This act, which, by one fell swoop, cut off the whole Catholic descendants of James the First, of whom there were forty then alive, all nearer heirs to



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the crown than the princess, gave great offence to all the Catholic princes concerned in the succession; but the Duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter of Charles I, the next in the line of succession after the family of King James II, alone openly asserted her right, by ordering her ambassador, Count Maffei, to protest in her name against every act of the English Parliament tending to deprive her of her hereditary right to the crown. The count, accordingly, drew up a protest, two copies of which were delivered to the lord-keeper and the speaker of the House of Commons, by two gentlemen in presence of a notary; but no notice being taken of the matter in Parliament, it was altogether overlooked.

The act of settlement in favour of the Princess Sophia and her heirs was a death-blow to the Jacobite interest, but still the hopes of the party were not extinguished. As James had given up all idea of dispossessing William, and even discountenanced any attempt to disturb the peace of the kingdom during his own lifetime, the partisans of his family had given up every expectation of his restoration. But the death of King James, which took place at St. Germain's on the sixteenth of September, 1701, and the recognition of his son by Louis XIV as king, were events which opened up brighter prospects than they had yet enjoyed. The unfortunate monarch had, for several years, taken farewell of worldly objects, and had turned his whole attention to the concerns of eternity, setting an example to all around him of Christian humility and of calm resignation to the will of Providence. Ardently attached to the creed which, from principle, he had embraced, he conjured his son in his last illness, rather to forego the splendours of a crown and every worldly advantage, than renounce his religion; and while he declared that he heartily forgave all those who had injured him, he recommended to his



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son the practice of Christian forgiveness and justice. Of the arbitrary and unconstitutional conduct of James, at the period preceding the revolution, it is impossible for any lover of genuine liberty to speak without feelings of indignation; but it must not be forgotten, that in his time the prerogatives of the Crown were not clearly defined, and that he was misled by evil counsellors, who, to effect his ruin, advised him to violate the existing constitution.

Nothing but the prospect of an immediate war with England could, it is believed, have induced Louis to recognize, as he did, the Prince of Wales as King of England, Ireland, and Scotland. William remonstrated against this act of the French king, as a violation of the treaty of Ryswick, and appealed to the King of Sweden, as the guarantee for its observance; but Louis was inflexible, and maintained, in the face of all Europe, that he was not debarred by the treaty from acknowledging the title of the Prince of Wales, to which he had right by birth. He admitted that by the fourth article of the treaty he was bound not to disturb William in the possession of his dominions, and he declared his intention to adhere to that stipulation; but this explanation was considered quite unsatisfactory by William, who recalled his ambassador from Paris. The conduct of the French king excited general indignation in England, and addresses were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, expressive of attachment to the government. The English Parliament passed two separate acts of attainder against the pretended Prince of Wales, as the son of James was termed, and the queen, his mother, who acted as regent. Great preparations were made for entering into a war with France, and William had concerted with his allies the plan of a campaign, but he did not live to see the gigantic schemes

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which he had devised for humbling the pride of France put into execution. He expired at Kensington on the eighth day of March, 1702, in consequence of a fall from his horse, on the twenty-first day of February preceding, which fractured his collar-bone. He reigned thirteen years, and was in the fifty-second year of his age.

In person, William was of middle stature; his body was slender, and his constitution delicate. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave, solemn aspect. He was extremely reserved in conversation, and, when he did speak, his conversation was dry and uninteresting. Naturally grave and phlegmatic, he never showed any symptoms of fire or animation except on the day of battle, when he was all life and energy. Sullen in his disposition, he was an utter stranger to the tender sympathies, and dead to every warm and generous emotion. His ruling passion was ambition, to gratify which he did not scruple to adopt means the most unworthy, — to disregard the ties of kindred, — and to sacrifice the interests of the country which had adopted him.

The accession of the Princess Anne gave satisfaction to all parties, particularly to the Jacobites, who imagined, now that she had no heirs of her own body, that she would be induced to concur with them in getting the succession act repealed, so as to make way for her brother, the Prince of Wales. At first the queen seemed disposed to throw herself into the hands of the Tory faction, at the head of which was the Earl of Rochester, first cousin to the queen, who was averse to a war with France; but the earl, afterward the celebrated Duke of Marlborough, his rival, succeeded, through the intrigues of his countess, in altering the mind of her Majesty, and war was accordingly declared against France on the fourth day of May.

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The Scottish Parliament, which under a late act should have met within twenty days after the death of the king, did not, however, assemble till three months thereafter, the queen having deferred the meeting by repeated adjournments. The Scottish ministry, who were all of the revolution party, probably afraid of the result of an election, were anxious for the continuance of the Parliament; but the Jacobite party, at the head of which was the Duke of Hamilton, who, as Earl of Arran, had suffered for his loyalty to King James, was desirous of a new Parliament. The Parliament, to which the Duke of Queensberry was appointed commissioner, met on the ninth day of June; but before his commission was read, the Duke of Hamilton objected to the legality of the meeting, the Parliament having been virtually dissolved, as he maintained, by not having met within the statutory period; and having taken a formal protest against its proceedings, he withdrew from the house, followed by seventy-nine members of the first rank in the kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the people. The seceding members, thereupon, sent up Lord Blantyre to London with an address to the queen, but she refused to see him. This refusal highly displeased the people, whose resentment was still farther increased by a prosecution raised by the lord advocate against the faculty of advocates, for having, by a vote, approved of the secession and address. Several acts were passed by the Parliament, one of the most important of which was that which authorized the queen to name commissioners for negotiating a treaty of union with England. An attempt was made by the Earl of Marchmont, the lord chancellor (better known as Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth), without any instructions from his colleagues, and even contrary to the advice of the commissioner, to alter the succession, by bringing in a bill



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similar to that which had passed in England for abjuring the Prince of Wales, and settling the succession on the Princess Sophia and her heirs; but as the ministry had no instructions from the queen, the bill was not supported. It is not improbable that Marchmont intended, by the introduction of this measure, to sound the disposition of the queen in regard of her brother.

The queen, by virtue of the powers conferred on her by the Parliaments of England and Scotland, named commissioners to treat about a union, who accordingly met at the Cockpit, neat Whitehall, on the twenty-second day of October; but after some of the preliminaries had been adjusted, the conference broke off, in consequence of the Scottish commissioners insisting that all the rights and privileges of the Darien company should be preserved and maintained.

A partial change in the Scottish ministry having taken place, the queen resolved upon calling a new Parliament, in the spring of 1703, previous to which she issued an act of indemnity in favour of every person who had taken any part against the government since the revolution, and allowed such of them as were abroad to return home. Under the protection of this amnesty many of the Jacobites returned to Scotland, and took the oaths to the government, in the hope of forwarding the interest of the Prince of Wales. At this time Scotland was divided into three parties. The first consisted of the revolutionists, who were headed by the Duke of Argyle. The second of what was called the country party, who were opposed to the union, and who insisted on indemnification for the losses sustained in the Darien speculation, and satisfaction for the massacre of Glenco and other grievances suffered in the late reign. The Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Tweeddale took the direction of this party. The last, called Mitchell's club, from



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the house they met in, was composed entirely of the Jacobites or Cavaliers. These were headed by the Earl of Home. The two latter parties, by coalescing at the elections, might have returned a majority favourable to their views; but the Earl of Seafield, who had succeeded the Earl of Marchmont as chancellor, had the address to separate the Jacobites from the country party, and, by making them believe that he was their friend, prevailed upon them to throw their interest at the elections into the scale of the government. The Parliament, however, which met on the sixth of May, was not so pliable to ministerial dictation as might have been expected, for although the royal assent was refused to what was called the act of security for limiting the power of the Crown, "this session of Parliament," to use the words of Lockhart, "did more for redressing the grievances and restoring the liberties of the nation than all the Parliaments since the year 1660." It was in this Parliament that the celebrated patriot, Fletcher of Salton, first distinguished himself. The Earl of Marchmont again brought in his bill for settling the crown of Scotland upon the house of Hanover; but such was the indignation with which the proposal was received by the House, that some of the members proposed that the bill should be burnt, while others moved that the proposer of the measure should be committed to the castle of Edinburgh. On a division the bill was thrown out by a very large majority.

After the prorogation of the Parliament, the courtiers and the heads of the cavaliers repaired to London to pay court to the queen, who received them kindly, and conferred marks of her favour upon some of them. The Marquis of Athole, in particular, who aspired to be leader of the Jacobites, was made a duke, and invested with the dignity of a knight of the order of the thistle, which she

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had just revived to enable her to extend the royal favour. Her policy seems to have been to gain over all parties to her interest; but she was soon made to believe that a conspiracy existed against her among the cavaliers to supersede her, and to place her brother upon the throne.

According to Lockhart, this was a sham plot, got up by the Duke of Queensberry, with the special advice and consent of the Duke of Argyle, and the Earls of Stair and Leven, and Mr. Carstairs, a Presbyterian minister, and one of her Majesty's chaplains, to ruin the cavaliers and the country party, in revenge for the opposition they had made to him in the last session of Parliament, and to prevent these parties from ever again thwarting his plans. That, in pursuance of this determination, he had pitched upon Simon Fraser of Beaufort, afterward so well known as the Lord Lovat, who suffered for the part he acted in the rebellion of 1745, as a fit instrument for effecting his design. Fraser had fled the country in consequence of a sentence of death pronounced against him in absence by the court of justiciary, for an alleged rape upon the person of the Lady Dowager Lovat, sister of the Duke of Athole, and had retired to France; but, on account of his reputed crime, and the sentence of outlawry pronounced against him, he was debarred by King James, during his life, from appearing at the court of St. Germain's. Being sent for from France by Queensberry, he returned to Scotland; but, knowing the object for which he was wanted, he had the address before leaving France, by imposing upon Louis, to whom he was introduced by the Pope's nuncio, to obtain from the widow of King James, acting as regent for her son, a commission of major-general, with power to raise and command forces in his behalf. As the court of St. Germain's had some suspicion of Fraser's integrity,

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Captain John Murray, brother of Mr. Murray of Abercarnie, and Captain James Murray, brother of Sir David Murray of Stanhope, were sent over to Scotland, under the protection of Queen Anne's indemnity, as a check upon him, and to sound the dispositions of the people.

On arriving on the borders of Scotland, Fraser was met by the Duke of Argyle, who conducted him to Edinburgh, where he was kept private till he should receive instructions from the Duke of Queensberry how to act. After obtaining his instructions, and a pass from the duke to protect him against letters of fire and sword, which had been issued against him during the reign of King William, he set off for the Highlands, introduced himself into the society of the adherents of the exiled family, and, by producing his commission of major-general, induced some of them to give him assurances that they would rise in arms when required, though they regretted that such a character should have been entrusted with such an important command. Others, however, apprehensive of his real designs, refused to hold any intercourse with him on the subject of his mission. He, thereafter, went to London to report to his patrons the progress he had made, who, finding that he had not been able to entrap some of the persons they intended to ensnare, sent him back to France to endeavour to procure letters from the court of St. Germain to the Dukes of Hamilton and Athole, the Earls of Seafield and Cromarty, and the leading Jacobite chiefs. To conceal his journey from the ministry, the Duke of Queensberry procured a pass for him from the Earl of Nottingham, the English secretary, under a fictitious name; but, before Fraser reached Paris, the whole pretended plot was brought to light by a gentleman of the name of Ferguson, with whom he had tampered. The Duke of Athole, being made acquainted by Fer-

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guson with the discovery he had made, immediately laid a state of the matter before the queen, who had been previously apprised of the conspiracy by the Duke of Queensberry; and the duke being called upon for an explanation, excused himself by saying that, when Fraser came to Scotland, he had received a written communication from Fraser informing him that he could make important discoveries relative to designs against the queen's government, in proof of which he delivered him a letter from the queen dowager at St. Germain's, addressed to L—— M——, which initials Fraser informed him were meant for Lord Murray, now Marquis of Athole, and that, after seeing him, he had given him a protection in Scotland, and procured a pass for him in England to enable him to follow out further discoveries.

When this pretended conspiracy became publicly known it excited considerable sensation, and the House of Lords immediately resolved that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the matter; but the queen, who was already well acquainted with the circumstances, sent them a message, intimating, that as the affair was already under investigation, she was desirous that the House should not interfere, and she promised in a short time to inform them of the result. Accordingly, on the seventeenth day of December, she went to the House of Peers, and made a speech to both houses, informing them that she had complete evidence of evil practices and designs against her government, carried on by the emissaries of France in Scotland. After thanking her Majesty for the information she had given, the peers, persisting in their resolution for an inquiry, appointed a select committee by ballot; but this proceeding was resented by the Commons as a violation of the laws of the land, and as an improper interference with the preroga-

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tive of the Crown, and they voted an address to the queen accordingly. The Upper House in its turn resented with indignation the conduct of the Commons, and voted that the address of the Commons was unparliamentary and groundless, and highly injurious to the House of Peers. They followed up this resolution by a remonstrance to the queen, in which they justified their interference in the affair of the conspiracy, and expressed great zeal and affection for her Majesty. The peers proceeded in the inquiry, and after considerable investigation they agreed to the following resolution, "that there had been a dangerous conspiracy in Scotland toward the invading that kingdom with a French power, in order to subvert her Majesty's government, and the bringing in the pretended Prince of Wales; that it was their opinion nothing had given so much encouragement to these designs as the succession of the crown of Scotland not being declared in favour of the Princess Sophia and her heirs; that the queen should be addressed to use such methods as she thought convenient for having the succession of the crown of that kingdom settled after that manner; and that being once done, then they would do all in their power to promote an entire union of the two kingdoms." Mr. Lockhart asserts that the lords thus interfered at the instance of the Duke of Queensberry, as he knew that the Whigs would bring him off, and although they were so clear as to the existence of a plot, he maintains that "it was all trick and villany." Meanwhile Fraser, for his imposition upon the French king, was committed a prisoner to the Bastile, in which he remained several years.

Lord Lovat, in his memoirs, gives a very different version of this affair from that furnished by Mr. Lockhart. After denying in the most pointed manner the crime for which he was outlawed, he states that on his



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arrival at St. Germain's, he addressed himself to his cousin, Sir John Maclean, the chief of the Macleans, who introduced him to Lord Perth; that that nobleman received him with open arms, and introduced him to King James in presence of the queen and the young prince; that his Majesty complained to him of the conduct of the Athole family, and acknowledged the obligations he lay under to the family of Lovat; that King James having advised him to make his peace with the reigning government, to save his clan, he returned to London, and that not having been able to obtain a reversal of the outlawry before King William's departure for Loo, his favourite residence, followed him thither, with a letter of recommendation from the Duke of Argyle to Carstairs, the chaplain, who had much influence with his royal master. The king was induced to give Lovat the most "unlimited pardon," and he immediately despatched his cousin Simon, son of David Fraser of Brae, to get the great seal of Scotland affixed to it; but for some reason or other the pardon was suppressed, and another pardon passed the seals limited to Lovat's treachery against the king and government. Having, he says, after the accession of Queen Anne, visited the chiefs of the clans and some of the Jacobite Scottish peers, he engaged them to grant him a general commission on their part to go to France and to announce to the court of St. Germain's that they were ready to take up arms and hazard their lives and fortunes for the exiled family, and to require that the young prince might be sent over with an officer to command the Jacobite forces.

Lovat says that he arrived at Paris about the month of September, 1702, and sent an express to Sir John Maclean to St. Germain's, to meet him; and that he thereafter went to court, and was introduced to Lord



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Perth, to whom he explained the object of his mission. The plan was, however, ruined by the Earl of Middleton, who undermined Lovat at court, a circumstance which made him resolve to return to Scotland, but he was induced by Cardinal Gualterio and the Marquis de Torcy to remain. He then obtained, through the interest of Madame de Maintenon and others, a private interview with the King of France, who promised to assist him in his enterprise. Provided with an ample commission from the young king, Lovat left France for England, but he had been anticipated on his journey by James Murray, brother of Sir David Murray of Stanhope, who had been privately sent by the Earl of Middleton to inform the government of Lovat's proceedings. On his arrival in Scotland Lovat found that the Scottish Privy Council, in expectation of his coming, had a month before issued a proclamation to take him dead or alive, had fixed a price upon his head, and had prohibited all persons under pain of death from holding any intercourse with him in word or writing. He, however, proceeded on his journey, and had interviews with the heads of the clans, and the principal Jacobite nobility, all of whom he asserts promised their services. A council of war was afterward held in Drummond castle, at which the chiefs of the clans were for taking up arms immediately, but Lord Drummond having objected to the proposal till succours should arrive from France, and a commander appointed, the consideration of the matter was deferred for some months, and in the meantime Lovat was directed to return to France without delay, and to demand the necessary supplies.

Before setting out for France, Lovat says he was induced by Lord Drummond and Captain John Murray, the latter of whom had accompanied him to Scotland, and was desirous of remaining in the country to concert

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measures with the Duke of Gordon and other noblemen attached to the cause of King James, to wait upon the Dukes of Argyle and Queensberry, and the Earl of Leven, "to amuse them with a fictitious account of their journey," and to entreat them to give no trouble to Mr. Murray, who had come to Scotland merely to visit his relations and friends. At meeting, Queensberry informed Lovat that he was fully aware of the object of his visit, which had been fully explained to him by Captain James Murray, who had discovered to him the whole plan of the proposed insurrection, and that he was also aware of all Lovat's proceedings in the north. Queensberry added, that he did not mean to put any questions to him upon that subject, but to ask a favour from him by informing him whether there was any truth in the report that the Dukes of Athole and Hamilton had, at the very time they were displaying an officious zeal in the service of the government, corresponded with the court of St. Germain. On receiving the duke's assurance that Captain Murray should be protected, Lovat informed him that both Hamilton and Athole were the most faithful friends and servants of King James, that Captain James Murray had brought over commissions for them from the court of St. Germain; and that they had promised to take up arms at a very early period, and to put themselves at the head of the whole Jacobite party in order to restore the king. This "pretended discovery," Lovat says, had no foundation, as he had been assured by the laird of Fintry that Hamilton was no friend of the exiled family, and that he even aspired to the crown himself; and as to Athole it was notorious that he was "the incorrigible enemy of King James."

The Duke of Queensberry was overjoyed at this "chimerical discovery," by which he hoped to effect the

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ruin of two noblemen, who, he said, “ had for a long time endeavoured to deprive him of estate, reputation, and life,” and made a thousand professions of friendship to Lord Lovat. He offered to make his peace with Queen Anne, to obtain a regiment for him and a considerable pension, and to make him chief justiciary and commandant of the county in which the estates of Lovat lay; but if we are to believe Lovat, he declined these magnificent offers, being obliged in honour and conscience to return to France, and to carry on the project in which he was engaged. Before taking leave, Lovat promised that if the duke would favour him with a passport, to enable him to return immediately to France, he would furnish him, in due time, with a particular account of Hamilton and Athole’s engagements with the court of St. Germain, which would enable him to ruin both these noblemen at the court of London. The duke, not suspecting any deceit, granted a passport to Lovat upon the spot, written and signed by himself as the queen’s representative in Scotland, to enable him to proceed in safety from Edinburgh to London. On the following day Lord Drummond and Captain Murray arrived in Edinburgh, who, on being informed by Lovat of the manner he had conducted himself in his interview with the duke, approved of what he had done, and even applauded the dexterity with which he had delivered himself from an imminent and unforeseen danger. As both Hamilton and Athole were regarded by Lovat as “ impostors ” and enemies of the exiled family, he considered that his conduct, in thus attempting to ruin them, “ far from being a real crime, ought to be regarded as a good and essential service to the king (James III), and the sincere, political, and ingenious fruit of his zeal, for his project, and the interests of his sovereign.” Such is a specimen of the morality of this extraordinary

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personage, who, in his correspondence with the revolution party, always pretended to be a friend to the revolution settlement.

Alluding to Lockhart's account of the conspiracy, Lovat says: "The design of the author is sufficiently evident. His book is entirely calculated to undermine the reputation, the interests, and the lives of the Dukes of Queensberry and Argyle, and the Earl of Leven, the most formidable enemies of his party; and to give to the world, as undoubted realities, the dark inventions of the Duke of Hamilton, and the Lords Athole and Tarbat, produced by the fear of punishment for their correspondence with the court of St. Germain, at the same time that they pretended to be the zealous partisans of the court of London. In prosecuting this design, he endeavours to throw upon the shoulders of the first mentioned noblemen, the contrivance of a project of which they knew as much as the Khan of Crim Tartary. He represents them as sending for Lord Lovat, their intimate friend, whom (probably by a miracle) this visionary writer represents as acquainted with the nature and particulars of their plot, at the distance of two hundred leagues, and at a time when the commerce of letters was rendered totally impracticable by the war. In the next place, by a miracle not less wonderful, he converts Lord Lovat to the popish religion, by the advice and command of his patrons, Queensberry, Argyle, Leven, and Carstairs, pillars of the Presbyterian religion in Scotland, — a most admirable means which this author has discovered for advancing the interests of the Protestant succession.

"And upon this foundation, equally chimerical, false, scandalous, and diabolical, the author commences his narrative with calumniating Lord Lovat. He makes him, in the first place, guilty of a rape, — a crime of

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which he was as innocent as the child unborn, and which the whole north of Scotland, where Lord Lovat has always been, and is at this day much loved and respected, knows to have had no foundation but in the malicious invention of Lord Athole, — in order to accumulate the crime of high treason against King William, with which he charged him; and to make himself master of his estate, for which tyranny the name of Athole is regarded with odium and horror, through the whole north of Scotland.

“The author proceeds with his ridiculous suppositions, and sends Lord Lovat into France, three years before he quitted his own country; not knowing, probably, that Lord Lovat obtained a pardon from King William; and that at the time of that prince’s death, he was in quiet possession of his estates, and about to commence a prosecution against Lord Athole, which would have reduced him to the same beggary as the young Lord Murrays, his brothers, not knowing that it was at the accession of Queen Anne, and her declared favouritism to Lord Athole and his other enemies, that Lord Lovat proclaimed his sovereign in his own province, and afterward entered into an engagement with the most considerable of the loyal nobility and heads of clans, previous to his passing into France.”

As the *exposé* in Fraser’s affair had rendered the Duke of Queensberry very unpopular in Scotland, he was dismissed from his situation as one of the Scottish secretaries of state, and the Marquis of Tweeddale was appointed to succeed him as lord high commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, which met on the sixth day of July, 1704. The friends of the duke, afraid that the Dukes of Hamilton and Athole would make his connection with Fraser the subject of a parliamentary investigation, entered into a negotiation with the friends of



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these noblemen, the result of which was a mutual arrangement, by which the latter agreed not to push the proposed examination, and the former, in respect of such forbearance, promised to join the Cavaliers in opposing the succession of the crown on the house of Hanover, and other court measures.

At the opening of the session a letter from the queen was read, exhorting the Parliament to unity, and recommending an immediate settlement of the succession as in England, as necessary to establish peace and secure the Protestant religion. Before the ministry, however, had time to bring on the question of the succession, the Duke of Hamilton moved, "that this Parliament will not proceed to the nomination of a successor to the crown, until we have had a previous treaty with England, in relation to our commerce, and other concerns with that nation." The ministry were greatly surprised and perplexed at a proposition which could not fail to be supported by the voice of the nation. The Earl of Rothes, who had joined the court party, made a counter motion, that the Parliament should, in the first place, proceed to the consideration of such conditions of government as might be judged proper for rectifying the constitution, by vindicating and securing the sovereignty and independence of the nation, after which they should take into consideration the other motion for a treaty previous to the nomination of a successor to the crown. This proposition, plausible enough, was no doubt intended to create a division among the Cavalier and country parties, which the ministry hoped would enable them eventually to get rid of the Duke of Hamilton's motion; but Sir James Falconer of Phesdo, to counteract this design, ingeniously conjoined the two motions, so as to give full effect to each. After congratulating the House on the emulation displayed by the members to promote



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the interest and security of the nation, he said that he thought both the resolutions under consideration good and necessary, but as it would be a pity that they should jumble with one another, he moved that the House should not proceed to the nomination of a successor until a treaty should be concluded with England for regulating the commerce of Scotland, and settling other affairs with that nation; and further, that the Parliament should proceed to make such limitations and conditions of government for rectifying the constitution as might secure the religion, independence, and liberty of the nation, before proceeding to the nomination of a successor to the crown. This motion was supported by the whole of the Cavalier party, and unanimously opposed by that of the court. After a stormy debate, in which Fletcher of Salton took a prominent part, and gave a most affecting detail of the miseries which the union of the two crowns of Scotland and England had entailed upon Scotland, the Earl of Rothes's motion was negatived by a vast majority.

From the temper displayed in the Scottish Parliament, it was obvious that without entering into a treaty with Scotland, it would be utterly impossible for the English ministry to carry the question of the succession in Scotland. To accomplish this the English Parliament authorized the queen to nominate commissioners to treat with commissioners from Scotland; but the conduct of the Parliament was by no means calculated to allay the jealousy entertained by the Scotch, of the interference of England in imposing a foreign sovereign upon them. Instead of simply empowering the queen to appoint commissioners, the English Parliament, instigated by the Scottish ministry, insolently directed the Scottish Parliament in the choice of its commissioners, and they even prohibited their own commis-

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sioners to meet and treat with those of Scotland unless the Parliament of Scotland allowed the queen to name these commissioners herself. And, as if this encroachment upon the liberties of an independent nation was not sufficiently insulting, all Scotsmen not settled in England, or in its service, were declared aliens, until the succession to the crown of Scotland should be settled on the Princess Sophia and her Protestant heirs. Several prohibitory clauses against the trade of Scotland were also inserted in the act, which were to take effect about eight months thereafter if the Scottish Parliament did not, before the appointed time, yield to the instructions of that of England.

To strengthen the government party the Scottish ministry was changed, and the Duke of Queensberry was recalled to office, being appointed to the privy seal. The Cavaliers, thus deprived of the aid of the duke and his friends, to which they had been lately so much indebted, applied to the Marquis of Tweeddale, — who, with his displaced friends, had formed a party called the “*squadron volante*,” or flying squadron, — to unite with them against the court; but he declined the proposal, as being inconsistent with the object for which it was said to be formed, namely, to keep the contending parties in Parliament in check and to vote only for such measures, by whatever party introduced, which should appear most beneficial to the country.

Notwithstanding the exertions of the court party, the Scottish ministry soon found themselves in a minority in the Parliament, which was opened on the twenty-eighth day of June, 1705, by the Duke of Argyle as commissioner. The motion of Sir James Falconer, which had hitherto remained a dead letter, was again renewed; but although the ministry was supported by the squadron in opposition to the motion, the Cavaliers

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carried it by a great majority. The Dukes of Hamilton and Athole were now desirous of pushing on the inquiry into the alleged plot, but by advice of the Cavaliers, who insisted that such a proceeding would be a violation of the agreement entered into between them and the Duke of Queensberry's friends, they desisted for a time. But the duke having prevailed upon such of his friends as had voted with the Cavaliers in the beginning of the session to join the court party, the subject was introduced before the House in the shape of a motion, to know what answer the queen had sent to an address which had been voted to her in the preceding session, to send down to Scotland against the next session such persons as had been examined respecting the plot, and the papers connected therewith. The Dukes of Hamilton and Athole vindicated themselves against the charge of being accessory to Fraser's proceedings, and the latter particularly, in a long speech, reprobated the conduct of the Duke of Queensberry, whom he openly accused of a design to ruin him. Neither the duke nor his friends made any answer to the charge, and Athole and Hamilton, conceiving that they had cleared themselves sufficiently, allowed the subject to drop. The most important business of the session was the measure of the proposed union with England, an act for effecting which was passed, though not without considerable opposition.

Before the state of the vote upon this measure was announced, the Duke of Athole, "in regard that by an English act of Parliament made in the last sessions thereof, entituled an act for the effectual securing England from the dangers that may arise from several acts passed lately in Scotland, the subjects of this kingdom were adjudged aliens, born out of the allegiance of the queen, as Queen of England, after the twenty-fifth day of December, 1705," protested that, for saving the

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honour and interest of her Majesty as Queen of Scotland, and maintaining and preserving the undoubted rights and privileges of her subjects, no act for a treaty with England ought to pass without a clause being added thereto, prohibiting and discharging the commissioners that might be appointed for carrying on the treaty from departing from Scotland until the English Parliament should repeal and rescind the obnoxious act alluded to. To this protest twenty-four peers, thirty-seven barons, and eighteen of the burgh representatives adhered. When the state of the vote was announced, the Duke of Hamilton, to the infinite surprise of the Cavaliers and the country party, moved that the nomination of the commissioners should be left wholly to the queen. From twelve to fifteen members immediately exclaimed that the duke had deserted and basely betrayed his friends, and ran out of the House in rage and despair. A warm debate then ensued, in which Hamilton was roughly handled, and the inconsistency of his conduct exposed; but he persisted in his motion, which was carried by a majority of eight votes. Had the other members remained he would have found himself in a minority. The Duke of Athole protested a second time for the reasons contained in his first protest, and twenty-one peers, thirty-three barons, and eighteen burgh representatives adhered to his second protest. The protesters consisted of most of the Cavaliers and the country party, and the whole of the squadron. The protesters, however, were not discouraged, and they succeeded so far as to obtain an order of the House prohibiting the Scottish commissioners from treating until the clause in the English act, declaring the subjects of Scotland aliens, should be repealed, a resolution which had the desired effect, the English Parliament rescinding the clause before the time fixed for its operation arrived.

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In terms of the powers vested in her by the Parliaments of England and Scotland, the queen nominated commissioners, who met in the council chamber of the Cockpit, near Whitehall, on the sixteenth day of April, 1706. During their sittings by intervals, they were twice visited by the queen, who urged them to complete, with as little delay as possible, a treaty which, she anticipated, would be advantageous to both kingdoms. They, accordingly, proceeded to fulfil the great object for which they had been appointed, and on the twenty-second of July, the celebrated treaty of union was finished, and mutually signed by the contracting parties. By the second article of the treaty, it was declared that the succession to the monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, in default of issue of the queen, should remain and continue to the Princess Sophia and her heirs, being Protestants.

When the terms of the treaty became publicly known in Scotland, a shout of indignation was set up in every part of the kingdom, at a measure which, it was supposed, would destroy the independence of the nation; and when the Scottish Parliament met for the purpose of ratifying the treaty, considerable rioting took place in different parts of the country, and large bodies of armed men threatened to march upon the capital, and disperse the assembly. Numerous addresses were sent to the Parliament from every part of the kingdom against the union, and considerable opposition was made by the Dukes of Hamilton and Athole, Lord Belhaven, Fletcher of Salton, and others, but the court party, having obtained the support of the "Squadron," carried the measure by a great majority.

As the restoration of the son of James II now appeared to the Scottish nation as necessary to preserve its independence, various combinations were entered into among



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the people to effect it. The inhabitants of the western shires, chiefly Cameronians, formerly the most determined supporters of the Protestant government, all at once became the most zealous partisans of the exiled family, whose Catholicity they showed themselves disposed altogether to overlook. Preparatory to more active measures for accomplishing their object, the ring-leaders among them held several meetings, divided themselves into regiments, chose their officers, provided themselves with horses and arms, and, notwithstanding the religious asperity which had long existed between them and the inhabitants of the northern shires, offered to unite with them in any measures which might be devised for accomplishing the restoration of the young prince, who had now assumed the title of the Chevalier de St. George. The court of St. Germain, fully aware of the strong national feeling which existed in favour of the prince, sent, in concert with the French king, one Hooke into Scotland to obtain intelligence, and to treat with the people for his restoration. This gentleman had been one of the Duke of Monmouth's chaplains when he invaded England; but after the execution of that unfortunate nobleman, Hooke went to France, where he became a Catholic, and entered into the French service, in which he rose to the rank of colonel. He had been in Scotland in 1705 on a previous mission to the heads of the Jacobite chiefs and the country party; but though a man of sense, he conducted himself with such indiscretion, that he could only obtain general promises, from the parties he consulted, of their readiness to advance the prince's interest. The Cavaliers, however, sent Captain Henry Straton, a gentleman in whom they placed great confidence, to France, in July the following year, to ascertain the extent of the aid they might expect from Louis.



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Hooke, on this occasion, landed in the north of Scotland, about the end of February or beginning of March, 1707, and took up a temporary abode in Slains Castle, the seat of the Earl of Errol, high-constable of Scotland, where he was waited upon by the countess dowager, the mother of the earl, her son being then absent from home. Instead of consulting, as he should have done, the principal chiefs upon the subject of his mission, Hooke at first confined himself to interviews with some gentlemen in the shires of Perth and Angus, by whom he was received with great favour and hospitality, and looked upon as a person of no ordinary importance. The attention thus paid him flattered his vanity, in return for which he made them his confidants, and proceeded, in concert with them, to deliberate upon the mode of accomplishing a restoration. This party, however, had not the wisdom to conceal the negotiation with Hooke, whose presence in the country became consequently generally known. The result was, that the Duke of Hamilton and others, conceiving themselves slighted, and alarmed at the imprudence of Hooke's friends, declined to correspond with him, and entered into direct communication with the court of St. Germain's itself.

As the French king was desirous of ascertaining the exact situation of affairs in Scotland, M. de Chamillard, his minister of war, had furnished Hooke with a paper of instructions, in the shape of questions, to which he was desired to obtain distinct answers, to enable his Majesty to judge of the extent of the assistance required from him, and the probability of success. In answer to these questions, a memorial, addressed to the king of France, was drawn up, and signed by several noblemen and gentlemen, in which they stated that the greater part of the Scottish nation had always been disposed for the service of "its lawful king," ever since the revolution;

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but that this disposition had now become universal, and that the shires of the west, which used to be the most disaffected, were now zealous to serve him. That to reap the benefit of so favourable a disposition, and of so happy a conjuncture, the presence of the king (the Chevalier) would be absolutely necessary, the people being unwilling to take arms without being sure of having him at their head; that the whole nation would rise upon his arrival; that he would become master of Scotland without opposition, and that the existing government would be entirely abolished; that of the numbers that they would raise, the memorialists would immediately despatch twenty-five thousand foot and five thousand horse and dragoons into England, while the other peers and chiefs would assemble all their men in their respective shires, and that the general rendezvous of the troops on the north of the River Tay should be at Perth, those of the western shires at Stirling, and those of the south and east at Dumfries and Dunse. As to the subsistence of the troops, they informed his Majesty that they would require nothing from him, as the harvests of two years were to be found in the granaries, and that so great was its abundance, that a crown would purchase as much flour as would maintain a man two months; that there was also a great plenty of meat, beer and brandy in the kingdom, and cloth, linen, shoes, and bonnets, sufficient to clothe a considerable number of troops. The principal articles they stood in most need of were arms and money. Of the former, the memorialists begged his Majesty to send them as many as would equip twenty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse or dragoons, together with a proportional quantity of ammunition, and also some pieces of artillery, bombs, etc. Of money, of which the country had been almost drained by the Darien speculation, by five years of famine, and

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by the constant residence of the nobility at London, they required a remittance of one hundred thousand pistoles, to enable them to march into England, and also a regular monthly subsidy during the war. In addition to these demands, they required that the Chevalier should be accompanied to Scotland by a body of eight thousand troops, to protect his person against any sudden attempt by the government forces. The memorialists concluded by assuring his Most Christian Majesty of their resolution to bind themselves by the strictest and most sacred ties, to assist one another in what they deemed a common cause, to forget all family differences, and to concur sincerely, and with all their hearts, "without jealousy or distrust, like men of honour in so just and glorious an enterprise."

Having finished his negotiation, Hooke returned to France in the month of May, after assuring his friends that "the Pretender" would land in Scotland about August following. On arriving at the court of St. Germain, Hooke gave the most flattering account of his reception, and of the zeal of the people in behalf of the Chevalier, and accused the Duke of Hamilton, and the other persons who had refused openly to commit themselves, of lukewarmness in the cause. The armament, promised by the King of France, should have been ready in August; but the court of Versailles contrived to put it off, from time to time, under various pretences. The fact appears to be, that Louis was indifferent about the matter, and, although he pretended that his object was to place the Chevalier upon the throne of his ancestors, his real object was to create a diversion in his own favour by embroiling Great Britain in a civil war. His reverses at Ramillies and Turin had induced him to send Hooke into Scotland to obtain information, but, having afterward defeated the allies at Almanza, he was in hopes that he

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would be able to retrieve his affairs without the aid of the intended descent on Scotland.

To hasten the enterprise, the Cavaliers sent the Honourable Charles Fleming, brother of the Earl of Wigton, over to France with letters to his Most Christian Majesty and the Chevalier, in consequence of which, preparations for the expedition were commenced at Dunkirk, where a squadron was collected under the command of the Chevalier de Forbin. When the news of these preparations reached England, the greatest exertions were made to meet the threatened danger. Both Houses of Parliament joined in an address to the queen, in which they pledged themselves to defend her with their lives and fortunes against the "pretended Prince of Wales," and all her other enemies. They suspended the habeas corpus act, and passed a bill enacting that all persons should take the oath of abjuration under the pain of being held as convicted recusants. They also passed another bill, releasing the Scottish clans from all vassalage to those chiefs who should appear in arms against her Majesty; and "the Pretender" and his adherents were declared traitors and rebels. A large fleet was equipped and assembled at Deal with extraordinary promptitude, and despatched towards Dunkirk under the command of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and Lord Dursley, and transports were engaged to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend. When this fleet, which the French had supposed to be destined for Lisbon, appeared off Mardyke, they were greatly surprised; and the embarkation of their troops, which had commenced, was immediately countermanded. The French admiral represented to his court the danger of proceeding with the expedition; but he received positive orders to finish the embarkation, and to sail with the first favourable wind. The Chevalier de St. George,

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at taking farewell, was presented by Louis with a sword studded with costly diamonds, and sumptuous services of gold and silver plate, rich dresses, and other necessities becoming his high station.

While the embarkation was going on, Mr. Fleming and a gentleman of the name of Arnott were separately despatched for Scotland from Dunkirk, on the evening of the sixth of March, 1708, in two frigates, with instructions from the Chevalier to the Jacobite chiefs. Fleming arrived on the northern coast on the thirteenth, and, when about two leagues off the land, entered a fishing boat which landed him at Slains castle, where he met the Earl of Errol, who received the intelligence of the expedition with great pleasure. On perusing the Chevalier's instructions, he immediately despatched a messenger to Mr. Malcolm of Grange, in Fife, with orders to have a boat and pilots in readiness at the mouth of the Frith of Forth to go on board the first vessel that should give the signal agreed on.

In the meantime, the British fleet having been forced, by stress of weather, off their station on the fourteenth of March, the expedition sailed on the seventeenth from the road of Dunkirk; but it was detained in Newport pits in consequence of a change in the wind, till the nineteenth, when it again set sail with a fair breeze for Scotland. The expedition consisted of seven men-of-war, two of which were fitted up as transports, and twenty-one frigates, having on board fifty-one hundred troops, under the command of Monsieur le Comte de Gassè, who, on the last-mentioned day, received from the French king the patent of a marshal of France, and assumed the name of Mantignon. While at Newport, three of the frigates, which had received some damage, returned to Dunkirk; but, at a council of war, held in the apartment of the Chevalier, it was resolved, at his



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desire, to proceed without them, although these vessels had eight hundred troops on board, and a considerable quantity of arms and provisions. At the same council it was also determined to sail directly to the Frith of Forth, and to disembark the troops at Burntisland, whence it was proposed to send a detachment to take possession of Stirling.

The French fleet having been observed in Newport pits from the steeples of Ostend, a vessel was immediately despatched thence by Major-General Cadogan to inform Sir George Byng of their having left Dunkirk. Sir George went immediately in quest of the enemy. The French fleet, favoured by a strong and fair wind, reached the Frith on the evening of the twenty-third, without seeing any of the English squadron, and anchored off Crail, the commander intending to proceed up the Frith the following morning; but he had been anticipated by the *Proteus*, one of the three vessels which had returned to Dunkirk, and which, being a superior sailer, had reached the Frith before him, and had given notice of the approach of the French fleet to the friends of the Chevalier, who lived on the coast, by firing five guns, the concerted signal by which the friends of the prince along that coast were to be apprised of his arrival. Malcolm of Grange, who had been for some days anxiously looking out for the fleet, went immediately on board this vessel with a pilot.

The resolution of M. de Forbin to proceed up the Frith next morning, was, however, put an end to, by the appearance, at daybreak, of the English fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail, standing in for the Frith. Alarmed for the safety of his ships, the French commander immediately cut his cables, and by favour of a strong land breeze which fortunately sprung up, stood out to sea under full sail, having previously given orders to



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the different ships, in case of separation, to rendezvous at Cromarty or Inverness. The French vessels, being lighter and cleaner, outstripped the English in sailing, and all of them escaped, with the exception of the *Salisbury*, a ship formerly captured from the English, which was taken. On board of this vessel were Lord Griffin, the Earl of Middleton's two sons, M. La Vie, a major-general, Colonel Francis Wauchope, some other officers, and between three and four hundred soldiers. On the following day, the French commander finding himself out of sight of the enemy, and all his vessels together, with the exception of the *Salisbury*, he consulted with the Marshal de Mantignon, on the expediency of landing at some place in the north of Scotland, and proposed Inverness. The Chevalier, who was so desirous of landing, that he had, though in vain, entreated M. de Forbin, the preceding day, to put him on shore, though his domestics alone should accompany him, received this proposal with great satisfaction. The fleet accordingly, aided by a favourable wind, steered to the north during the whole of the twenty-fifth; but at ten o'clock at night the wind suddenly changed to the north, and blew directly in their teeth with considerable violence. As the storm continued the whole of the following day, and as M. de Forbin was afraid that the fleet would be dispersed, and might, when separated, fall into the hands of the enemy, a council was held, at which it was unanimously resolved, with the entire concurrence of the Chevalier, to return to Dunkirk, where the expedition arrived on the seventh of April.

Such was the result of an enterprize, which, but for the merest accidental circumstance, might have been crowned with the most complete success, — for had the expedition arrived only a few hours earlier in the Frith of Forth, the whole troops, arms, and ammunition,

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would have been landed without opposition. Such were the dispositions of the people of Scotland in favour of "the Pretender," and so disaffected had they become towards the government, that a universal rising would undoubtedly have taken place in his support had he set his foot in Scotland. No effectual resistance could have been offered to him by the regular troops, which did not exceed twenty-five hundred men; and as little reliance could be placed in them, from their participating generally in the national feeling, the Earl of Leven, the commander-in-chief, had determined to retire to Carlisle, or Berwick, with such forces as would accompany him. The news of the sailing of the expedition created a panic in England, which was followed by a run upon the bank, which would have been obliged to have suspended its payments had not the most extraordinary exertions been made to support its credit.

The principal friends of the Chevalier de St. George, and every person of any distinction in Scotland, suspected of favouring his pretensions, were, upon the failure of the expedition, immediately seized and committed to the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and the common jails, whence many of them were transmitted to England, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, or in Newgate. Among those who were carried to London was the Duke of Hamilton, who, taking advantage of a quarrel between the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin and the Whigs, obtained, by offering his support to the latter in the election of the Scottish representative peers, not only his own liberation, but also that of all the other prisoners, with the exception of Stirling of Kier, Seaton of Touch, Stirling of Carden, and other gentlemen of Stirlingshire, who, on receiving intelligence that the Chevalier had landed, had mounted their horses and advanced in a body towards Edinburgh, to support him.

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These last were brought to trial for high treason, as having appeared in arms against the government; but as no proof was brought against them, they were acquitted. The fact is, that the queen's advisers, fully aware of the great danger which the government had escaped, and the risks to which it was still exposed, were disposed to act a very lenient part, and were afraid, under existing circumstances, to commit themselves by sacrificing any of the disaffected to a doubtful, and, as it must have appeared to them, a precarious expediency.

For a time, the idea of a restoration seems to have been abandoned; but the systematic attacks made by the High Church party in England upon the principles of the revolution, and the popular excitement raised against the Whig ministry in consequence of Doctor Sacheverel's trial, raised anew the expectations of the Jacobites, which were still farther elevated by the expulsion of the Whigs from office in 1710 by the intrigues of the Tories. Although the queen on opening the new Parliament, which met on the twenty-fifth of November, declared to both houses that she would employ such persons only as were warmly attached to the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, yet it was generally understood that she was inclined to favour the pretensions of her brother, the Chevalier de St. George. As his religion was, in fact, the only bar in the way of his succession, she endeavoured, but without success, to induce him to abandon it. "You see," she observed to the Duke of Buckingham, when speaking of her brother, "he does not take the least step to oblige me. I have no reason to think he values me or my kingdom, therefore I shall give it to the Elector of Hanover." On another occasion, when warmly pressed by the duke, she replied: "What would you have me to do? You know, as the law stands, a Papist cannot inherit

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the crown, and, therefore, any will I may make will be to no purpose; the law gives all to Hanover; and therefore I had better do that with a good grace which I cannot help. He may thank himself for it. He knows I always loved him better than the Elector." The Tories were by no means averse to her Majesty's views of a successor, but afraid of a reaction in public opinion in favour of the Whigs, who were endeavouring to excite the fears of the nation by raising a no-popery cry, they not only carefully abstained from any act which might be considered as favouring the claims of "the Pretender," but even appeared as if hostile to them. Indeed, so desirous were some of the Tory members of the House of Commons to settle the crown upon his head, that they required a mere profession of Protestantism from him, till he should be firmly seated on the throne, after which he might, they said, again resume the exercise and profession of his religion. But the prince disdained to act such a hypocritical part.

In Scotland, however, little reserve was shown, a remarkable instance of which occurred in the Faculty of Advocates, which body accepted from the Duchess of Gordon a silver medal, having on one side an impression of the head of the Chevalier de St. George, and on the reverse a representation of the British Islands, with the motto, "Reddite." At presenting this treasonable device, a motion thanking her grace for her gift was carried, after a warm debate, by a majority of sixty-three voices against twelve. Dundas of Arniston, to whom the task of conveying the vote was entrusted, thanked her grace for having presented the Faculty with a medal of their sovereign, and stated a hope that she would very soon be enabled to present them with a second medal struck upon the restoration of the king and royal family, and the finishing of usurpation,

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rebellion, and whiggery. This proceeding created an extraordinary sensation, and Sir David Dalrymple, the lord advocate, was directed by the ministry to inquire into the matter. The Faculty grew alarmed, disclaimed the conduct of Dundas and of Horne, another member with whom they alleged the transaction originated, and by a solemn resolution declared their attachment to the queen and the Protestant succession. To satisfy, in some measure, the court of Hanover, the resident of which at the British court had presented a memorial to the queen desiring that Dundas and his party might be prosecuted, the lord advocate was dismissed from office, because he had been remiss in bringing the delinquents to justice; but no instructions were given to his successor to prosecute them.

The remaining years of Queen Anne's reign were chiefly occupied with party struggles which embittered her existence and impaired her constitution. The Tories, disunited among themselves, split latterly into two factions, which were respectively headed by Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. The Whigs, on the other hand, united, active and vigorous, pressed hard upon them, and employed every art to inflame the people against the authors of their disgrace. Popery and the Pretender were the never-ceasing topics with which they endeavoured to enlist the feelings of the nation in their favour, and the Duke of Argyle, in a warm debate which took place in the House of Peers on a question proposed by the Earl of Wharton, — "Whether the Protestant succession was in danger under the present administration," — offered to prove that the lord treasurer had remitted a sum of money annually to the Highland Jacobite chiefs. Oxford did not deny the charge, but defended himself by saying that he had only adopted the policy of King William,

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who had granted yearly pensions to the heads of the clans, the better to secure their obedience to the government. The fate of the Tory ministry was at length sealed by the removal of Oxford and the death of the queen, who survived that event only a few days. Fatigued by a long attendance at a cabinet council held immediately after the dismissal of the lord treasurer, she was thrown into a lethargic disorder, which terminated her existence on the morning of the first of August, 1714, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. With the exception of her dereliction of duty toward her father, which, from the circumstances in which she was placed, may admit of some slight palliation, she left behind her an unblemished reputation, and though not possessed of much genius or vigour of mind, she wielded the sceptre with greater skill than is usually to be found in sovereigns, who, like her, have allowed themselves to be controlled by favourites.



## CHAPTER V

### INTRIGUES OF THE JACOBITES

THE dismissal of the Earl of Oxford, from the office of lord high treasurer, was gratifying to the Jacobites, whose expectations he had disappointed, and they naturally waited with anxiety for the appointment of his successor, whom they confidently imagined would be Bolingbroke, his rival, who was supposed, on juster grounds, to favour their views, and to whom they had transferred their confidence. But all their hopes were disappointed by the promotion of the Duke of Shrewsbury to the treasury, a nobleman distinguished for modesty and disinterestedness, and a devoted attachment to his country. This appointment was owing to the determined conduct of the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, who, on hearing of the dangerous state of the queen, and that the committee of the council were assembled at Kensington on the thirtieth of July, had repaired to the palace and entered the council chamber without being summoned. Their unexpected presence excited some surprise, particularly in Bolingbroke; but on the invitation of the Duke of Shrewsbury, who thanked them for their attendance at such a critical juncture, they took their places at the council board. The meeting, thereupon, unanimously agreed to recommend Shrewsbury to the queen as the fittest person to fill the office of lord treasurer, and she accordingly presented him with the white staff and requested him,

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at same time, to retain the staff of lord chamberlain, which he offered to return.

To counteract still farther the schemes of Bolingbroke, all the privy counsellors in London, or the neighbourhood, had been invited, on the proposal of Somerset and Argyle, to attend the council without distinction of party, in consequence of which, Lord Somers, and many other Whig noblemen, repaired to Kensington. The presence of such a number of the Whigs completely overawed the Tories, who, confused, distracted, and disunited, were either unable or afraid to oppose the measures proposed by the former for effectually securing the Protestant succession, and gave a tacit acquiescence to them. Every precaution, in short, had been taken to prevent any movement of the Jacobite party in favour of the Chevalier and an express was sent to the Elector of Hanover, informing him that the physicians despaired of the queen's life, and desiring him to repair to England, with all convenient speed.

As soon as the death of the queen was announced, the lords of the Privy Council met, and drew up and issued a proclamation the same day, declaring that by the death of Queen Anne, the imperial crowns of Great Britain, France, and Ireland had "solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick, Lunenburg," in consequence of which, the prince was immediately proclaimed in London, by the heralds at arms, with the usual solemnities, and on Thursday, the fifth of August, the same ceremony was repeated at the market-cross of Edinburgh, by the deputy-lord-lyon, king at arms, in presence of the magistrates and town council of the city, the judges of the supreme courts, a considerable number of the nobility, and a large assemblage of the inhabitants. The Jacobites preserved a prudent silence on this occasion, but the supporters of

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the government at Edinburgh took care, notwithstanding, to provide against any contingency. They, accordingly, cut off a part of the wooden bridge before the castle gate, and drew up the remaining part to cover the gate itself. They also threw up an intrenchment between the gate and the castle wall, on which they posted a party of armed soldiers. In addition to these precautions, Major-General Wightman, the commander of the forces, ordered the different detachments quartered at Dundee, and other places, to join his camp in the vicinity of Edinburgh, with which order they immediately complied.

Pursuant to an act of the late reign, the Parliament met on the day the queen died. The first four days were occupied in swearing in the members, and on the fifth of August the Parliament was opened by the lord chancellor, in name of the lords justices, on whom the interim administration of the government had devolved by an act of the fourth and fifth of Queen Anne. Both houses thereafter voted loyal addresses to his Majesty, in which, after congratulating him upon his accession to the throne, they expressed their anxiety for his safe and speedy arrival in Great Britain. To these addressed, his Majesty returned most gracious answers, which were reported to both houses on the twenty-fifth of August, on which day the Parliament was prorogued till the twenty-third day of September.

When the Chevalier de St. George heard of the death of his sister, Queen Anne, he set off from his residence in Lorraine, to Paris, to crave the aid of the King of France, in vindication of his hereditary rights; but Louis declined to interfere, on the ground that he had, by the Treaty of Utrecht, acknowledged the Protestant succession. Disappointed in his application, he retired first to Luneville, and afterward to Plombieres, whence,

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on the twenty-ninth of August, he issued a declaration as King James the Third, asserting his indefeasible right to the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland, and solemnly protesting against every act that had been already done, or that should thereafter be done to the prejudice of his hereditary rights. In this declaration, he refers to a previous one which he issued on the eighth of October, 1704, after the death of King William, and to a protest dated from St. Germain, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1712, when he found that a treaty of peace was about being concluded without any regard to him, in which protest he also maintained his right to the said crowns, and protested against whatever might be stipulated in the proposed treaty to his prejudice. He says, that although he had been obliged by the treaty to remove from France, that he had still continued to have his kingdoms and his people in view, and that he had never ceased to hope that God would in time open his people's eyes, and convince them not only of the notorious injustice done to the Crown and him, but of the dangerous consequences thereof for themselves; and that as he could not see, without grief and sorrow, their blood and treasure lavished in the late war, in opposition to his rights, so he could not now with less sorrow see them exposed to be subjected to an arbitrary power, and become a prey to foreigners; that the settlement of the succession upon one who was so far removed from the regular line was opposed to the maxims of the English constitution; that the Elector of Brunswick was, besides, a foreigner, a powerful prince, and absolute in his own country; that he was ignorant of the laws, manners, customs, and language, and supported by a good many of his own people; that there had been many thousands of aliens domiciled in England, for the last thirty years, who would be ready to stand by him upon

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all occasions; that the subversion of such a sacred and fundamental principle as hereditary right would lead to endless wars and divisions, and that as there were many other princes, who had better pretensions to the crown than the Elector of Brunswick, the nation could never enjoy any lasting peace or happiness, till the succession was again settled "in the rightful line."

Meanwhile, certain movements in Scotland, among the friends of the Chevalier, indicated to the government that an insurrection was intended. Bodies of armed men were seen marching towards the Highlands, and a party of Highlanders appeared in arms near Inverlochy, which was, however, soon dispersed by a detachment from the garrison. In this situation of matters, the lords justices sent down to Scotland a considerable number of half pay officers, chiefly of the Scots regiments, to officer the militia of the country, under the direction of Major-General Whitham, then commander-in-chief in Scotland. These prompt measures taken by the government alarmed the Jacobites, who, after several consultations, retired to their homes. The Duke of Gordon was, by order of the justices, confined in the city of Edinburgh, and the Marquis of Huntly and Lord Drummond, in their respective residences of Brahen and Castle Drummond. The last, on hearing that an order for his seizure had arrived, fled to the Highlands, but offered bail for his good behaviour. At the same time, Captain Campbell of Glendarnel, who had obtained a commission from the late Tory administration, to raise an independent company in the Highlands, was apprehended at Inverlochy, and carried prisoner to the capital, and Sir Donald M'Donald of Slait was also seized and committed to the castle of Edinburgh. As the lords justices had received information that the Chevalier intended to land in the kingdom, they, on the



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fifteenth of September, issued a proclamation, in terms of an act passed in the last session of Parliament, offering a reward of one hundred thousand pounds sterling for his apprehension, should he land or attempt to land in Great Britain.

King George, after vesting the government of his German dominions in a council, embarked at Orange Polder for England on the sixteenth day of September, and landed at Greenwich on the eighteenth, where he was received by the Duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and by the lords justices, and a large number of the nobility and other persons of distinction. Among those who presented themselves on this occasion was the Earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, but the king had been so prepossessed against this nobleman, and indeed against all the heads of the Tory party, that he did not vouchsafe even to notice him. The earl, suspecting that means had been used to prejudice his Majesty against him, had, in order to take off any unfavourable impression which these might have produced upon the king's mind, written a letter to George when in Holland on his way to England, congratulating him upon his accession to the throne, stating the services which he had rendered to the government, and assuring his Majesty that he should find him as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as ever any of his family, which had been always loyal, had been to the crown, or as he had been to his late mistress, the queen. With the same view, it is supposed, or to throw the government off its guard, Mar caused a letter to be addressed to him by some of the heads and branches of the Jacobite clans expressive of their loyalty to King George, and declaring that as they had been always ready to follow his lordship's directions in serving Queen Anne, they were equally ready to concur with him in faithfully serving



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his Majesty. But the prejudices of the king against Mar were too deeply rooted to be overcome, and within eight days after the king's arrival in England, Mar was dismissed from office, and the Duke of Montrose appointed in his stead. It was very natural for the king to prefer the Whig party, by whose influence he had been raised to the throne; but unfortunately for the nation, he carried this predilection too far. A wise and prudent prince would have endeavoured to conciliate the adverse faction by acts of kindness, but George turned his back upon the entire body of the Tories, and threw himself completely into the arms of the Whigs, who alone shared in the royal favour, and who used every art to confirm their own interest, and extend their connections. The consequence was, that a spirit of the most violent discontent was excited throughout the whole kingdom, and the populace, led on by the Tories or Jacobites, raised tumults in different parts of the kingdom. The Chevalier de St. George, availing himself of this excitement, transmitted by the French mail copies of the manifesto, or declaration, which he had issued from Plombieres to the chief nobility, particularly the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Argyle, who delivered them to the secretaries of state. The king, imagining that the Duke of Lorraine was privy to the preparation and transmission of the manifesto, refused an audience to the Marquis de Lamberti, minister from the duke; but although the duke, on being informed by his minister of the circumstance, denied most pointedly that he was accessory to the affair, and declared that the Chevalier took up his residence in Lorraine by the directions of the King of France, the king persisted in refusing an audience to De Lamberti, till his master should remove the Chevalier from his dominions.

The Parliament having been dissolved, the king, in

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the month of January, 1715, issued an extraordinary proclamation, calling a new Parliament, in which proclamation he complained of the evil designs of the disaffected, and of the misrepresentation of his principles and conduct, which had been industriously circulated throughout the kingdom, and expressed his hopes that his loving subjects would send up to Parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and to provide for the peace and happiness of the kingdoms, and ease of the people for the future, and therein would have a particular regard to such "as showed a firmness to the Protestant succession when it was in danger." In order to secure the interest of those in civil and military employments in the elections, a proclamation was issued on the same day, continuing all persons who had been duly invested in their offices, civil or military, before the demise of the queen, and who had not been since removed therefrom, for the space of six months from the date of the proclamation, unless his Majesty should see cause to remove them sooner. A warmly contested election followed in England, but although the Tories made every exertion, and set up the usual shout of the church in danger, a cry which was responded to by the populace in many places, a majority of Whigs was returned. The Whigs were still more successful in Scotland, where a majority of the sixteen peers, and forty out of forty-five members returned to the Commons, were in the interest of the government. The principal struggle in Scotland was in Inverness-shire, between M'Kenzie of Preston Hall, who was supported by Glengarry and the other Jacobite chiefs, and Forbes of Culloden, brother of the celebrated President Forbes, who carried the election by the interest of Brigadier-General Grant, and the friends of Lord Lovat.

The new Parliament assembled on the nineteenth day

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of March at Westminster, and was for some time chiefly occupied in investigating the conduct of the late ministers, against some of whom measures of extreme rigour were resolved upon; but these proceedings were interrupted by the necessity of devising means for the suppression of a growing spirit of discontent and disaffection, which seemed to gain ground daily in England, of which an insurrection in Scotland, and an invasion from abroad, seemed about to ensue as inevitable results. To put an end to future rioting, a bill was passed, by which it was declared, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, riotously, tumultuously, and unlawfully assembled, should continue together for an hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, by proclamation being publicly read, — and of which a form was given in the act, they should be guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. When the king attended in the House of Lords on the thirteenth of July, to give his assent to this and other bills, he informed both houses that a rebellion had actually begun at home, and that an invasion was threatened from abroad, and he, therefore, solicited the Commons to enable him to provide for the defence of the kingdom. The preparations of the Chevalier de St. George for a descent upon Great Britain were indeed already far advanced. Elated by the intelligence which had been sent him from England by the Tories, of the disaffection of the people to the government, and by the promises of support which he had received from them, should he land in Great Britain, the prince had applied a second time to Louis for succour, who, notwithstanding the Treaty of Utrecht, supplied him privately with money, and allowed a ship to be fitted out for him, at his own expense, in the port of Havre. The cause of the Chevalier had now been openly espoused by the Duke of Ormond and Lord

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Bolingbroke, both of whom having retired to France, had been attainted by the British Parliament without a hearing, and were busily employed corresponding with the Tories of England. These intrigues and preparations were early discovered by the Earl of Stair, the British ambassador at Paris, and communicated by him to the ministry. Proceeding upon this information, the Parliament suspended the Habeas Corpus act, and offered a reward of £100,000 to any person or persons who should seize the Pretender, dead or alive. Great naval and military preparations were made, and the trained bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults.

As early as May, a report was current among the Jacobites of Scotland of the Chevalier's design to make a descent, in consequence of which they began to bestir themselves, by providing arms, horses, etc. Lockhart of Carnwath, a very warm partisan of the Chevalier, went to Edinburgh in August, where he met Mr. Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, who informed him that he had been sent to Edinburgh by some of the Chevalier's friends in Stirlingshire and other places, to obtain and bring them intelligence of the state of affairs, and what was intended to be done, that they might concert measures accordingly. Lockhart also learned that a gentleman of the name of Paterson had just arrived from London, with an express from the Earl of Mar to Captain Straton, who had been sent over to France by the Jacobites in 1705. Walkinshaw and Lockhart repeatedly applied to Straton for an interview, but he declined to see them; but having met with Mr. Hall, a Catholic priest, who showed them a letter he had received the same day by post from Father Innes at Paris, which threw no light on the Chevalier's motions, they separated, and Lockhart returned home to Dryden house, in the county of Edinburgh. While "solacing" himself, as he says, with

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the expectation of hearing "great and good news," his house was surrounded about four days thereafter, at three o'clock in the morning, by a strong detachment of Lord Shannon's regiment of foot, which carried him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, by virtue of a warrant "under the Elector of Hanover's own hand." The apprehension of Lockhart served as a signal to the other Jacobites in Scotland, against whom warrants were issued, all of whom escaped, with the exception of the Earls of Hume and Wigton, who were taken up, and also committed prisoners to the castle.

Of John Erskine, the eleventh Earl of Mar, the chief leader in the ensuing insurrection, it may now be proper to say a few words. Following the footsteps of his father, who joined the revolution party, merely because he considered it his interest so to do, the young earl, on entering into public life, attached himself to the party then in power, at the head of which was the Duke of Queensberry, the leader of the Scottish Whigs. He took the oaths and his seat in Parliament in September, 1696, sworn in a privy councillor the following year, and was afterward appointed to the command of a regiment of foot, and invested with the order of the Thistle. In 1704, when the Whigs were superseded by the country party, the earl, pursuant to the line of conduct he intended to follow, of making his politics subservient to his interest, immediately paid court to the new administration, by placing himself at the head of such of the Duke of Queensberry's friends as opposed the Marquis of Tweeddale and his party. In this situation he showed so much dexterity, and managed his opposition with so much art and address, that he was considered by the Tories as a man of probity, and well inclined to the exiled family. Afterward, when the Whig party came again into power, he gave them his support, and



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became very zealous in promoting all the measures of the court, particularly the treaty of union, for which he presented the draught of an act in Parliament, in 1705. To reward his exertions, he was, after the prorogation of the Parliament, appointed secretary of state for Scotland, instead of the Marquis of Annandale, who was displaced, because he was suspected of holding a correspondence with the *Squadron*, who were inclined to support the succession to the crown without, rather than with the proposed union. His lordship was chosen one of the sixteen representative peers in 1707, and re-elected at the general election the following year, and in 1710 and 1713. By the share he had taken in bringing about the union, Mar had rendered himself very unpopular in Scotland; but he endeavoured to regain the favour of his countrymen, by attending a deputation of Scottish members, consisting of the Duke of Argyle, himself, Cockburn, younger, of Ormiston, and Lockhart of Carnwath, which waited on Queen Anne in 1712, to inform her of their resolution to move for a repeal of the union with England. When the Earl of Findlater brought forward a motion for repeal in the House of Lords, Mar spoke strongly in favour of it, and pressed the dissolution of the union as the only means to preserve the peace of the island. He was made a privy councillor in 1708, and on the death of the Duke of Queensberry in 1713, the earl was again appointed secretary of state for Scotland, and thus, for the second time, enlisted himself under the banners of Toryism, but an end was put to his political tergiversation by his abrupt and uncereceremonious dismissal from office by George I, and he vowed revenge.

Though not possessed of shining talents, he made ample amends for their deficiencies by artifice and an insinuating and courteous deportment, and managed



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his designs with such prudence and circumspection as to render it extremely difficult to ascertain his object when he desired concealment; by which conduct "he showed himself," in the opinion of a contemporary, "to be a man of good sense, but bad morals." The versatility of his politics was perhaps owing rather to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed than to any innate viciousness of disposition. He was a Jacobite from principle, but as the fortunes of his house had been greatly impaired in the civil war by its attachment to the Stuarts, and, as upon his entrance into public life, he found the cause of the exiled family at a low ebb, he sought to retrieve the losses which his ancestors had sustained; while, at the same time, he gratified his ambition, by aspiring to power, which he could only hope to acquire by attaching himself to the existing government. The loss of a place of £5,000 a year, without any chance of ever again enjoying the sweets of office, was gall and wormwood to such a man. This disappointment, and the studied insult he had received from the king, operating upon a selfish and ambitious spirit, drove him into open rebellion, with no other view than the gratification of his revenge. But whatever were his qualifications in the cabinet, he was without military experience, and consequently unfit to command an army, as the result has shown.

On the eve of Mar's departure from England to place himself at the head of the intended insurrection in Scotland, he resolved to show himself at court; and, accordingly, he appeared in the presence of King George on the first of August, with all the complaisance of a courtier, and with that affability of demeanour for which he was so distinguished. What his motives were for thus needlessly laying himself open to the charge of studied duplicity by confronting a sovereign whose

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throne he was about to attempt to overturn, it is difficult to conjecture. Was it to solace his offended pride, or to show the world the hardihood of his determination to unfurl the standard of revolt, that he had the cool daring in presence of the nobles of the land, to look in the face the man against whom he had inwardly vowed to wage war? Or was his object, in thus appearing as if no treasonable design could be in his contemplation, intended as a feint to deceive the court and lull suspicion, so as to enable him the more effectually to conceal the preparations he had made for his intended departure? These are questions of which, in the absence of all evidence, no solution can be attempted; but all, or each of them, may be fairly answered in the affirmative, as being in perfect conformity with the earl's character.

Having disguised himself by changing his usual dress, he embarked at Gravesend on the second day of August, 1715, on board a vessel bound for Newcastle, accompanied by Major-General Hamilton and Colonel Hay, and attended by two servants. On arriving at Newcastle he and his party went on board another vessel bound for the Frith of Forth, the property of one Spence, and were landed at Ely, a small port on the Fife coast, near the mouth of the Frith. During the great civil war, and for many years thereafter, a landing in Fife in support of the Stuarts would have been a dangerous attempt, but the opinions of many of the Fife people had, of late, undergone a complete revolution; and, at the time in question, Fife had, as the Jacobites would have said, many "honest" men, or, in other words, persons who were warmly attached to the interests of the exiled family. From Ely, Mar proceeded to Crail, where he was met by Sir Alexander Erskine, the Lord Lyon, and other friends of the Jacobite interest, who accompanied

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him to the house of "the Honest Laird," a name by which John Bethune of Balfour, a staunch Jacobite, was commonly known. After remaining a few days in Fife, Mar paid a visit to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Kinnoull, at his seat of Dupplin in the county of Perth, whence he departed on Thursday, the eighteenth of August, and crossed the Tay about two miles below Perth, with forty horse, on his way to his seat of Kildrummy, in the Braes of Mar. On the following day he despatched letters to the principal Jacobites, inviting them to attend a grand hunting-match at Braemar, on the twenty-seventh of August. As the government was on the alert, and watched very narrowly any unusual assemblages, the Jacobites had frequently before had recourse to this and similar expedients to enable them to concert their measures without exciting the suspicion of the government.

That the earl had matured his plans before coming to Scotland, and that the Jacobites were let into the secret of his designs, is evident from the fact that, as early as the sixth of August, those in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood were aware of his intention to come down to Scotland. On the following morning the Honourable John Dalzel, a captain on half pay, sent in a resignation of his commission to the Earl of Orkney, that he might join with greater freedom the standard of the earl, and set off immediately to Elliock, the residence of his brother, the Earl of Carnwath, to apprise him of Mar's expected arrival. Dalzel reached Elliock at night, and next morning expresses were sent by the earl to the Earl of Nithsdale, the Viscount Kenmure, and the other Jacobite chiefs in the southern and western parts of Scotland, communicating the same information. The Earl of Carnwath went from Elliock the same day to meet his friends, and, after spending some time together,

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concerting measures and sounding the inclinations of the people, they repaired to Lothian, giving out as they went along, that they were going to attend a hunt in the north.

Under pretence of attending a hunting-match, a considerable number of noblemen and gentlemen arrived at Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, about the time appointed. Among these were the Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon; the Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the Duke of Athole; the Earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, Linlithgow, and others; the Viscounts Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stormont; the Lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvie, and Nairne; and about twenty-six gentlemen of influence in the Highlands, among whom were Generals Hamilton and Gordon, Glengary, Campbell of Glendarnel, and the lairds of Auchterhouse and Auldbar.

After the meeting had assembled, the earl proceeded to address his friends in a regular and well-ordered speech. He began by expressing his sorrow for having been instrumental in forwarding the union of the two kingdoms. He informed them that his eyes were now opened, and that he clearly perceived the error he had committed; that he would therefore do everything in his power to make his countrymen again a free people, and restore to them their ancient liberties which had been surrendered into the hands of the English by the accursed treaty of union. That this treaty, which had already done so much injury to Scotland, was calculated to inflict additional grievances upon it, and that such were the designs of the English appeared evident by the measures which had been daily pursued ever since the Elector of Hanover had ascended the throne. That this prince regarded neither the welfare of his people, nor







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their religion; but had committed the charge of both entirely to a set of men who, while they stuck to the Protestant succession, made such alterations in church and state as they thought fit. That they had already begun to encroach upon the liberties of both, on which account he had resolved to vindicate their rights by placing the lawful sovereign, James VIII, who had promised to hear their grievances and redress their wrongs, upon the throne of his ancestors. He then informed them of his determination to take up arms in behalf of his lawful king; that he would summon all the fencible men among his own tenantry, and with them hazard his life in the cause; and he exhorted all those assembled to follow his example. To encourage them to do so, he assured them that there would be a general rising in England in support of the cause; that they would receive powerful assistance from France, whither the Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke had gone to induce Louis XIV to aid and assist them with men and money; and that the Duke of Berwick would certainly land in the west of England with a large force. That there were thousands of persons throughout the kingdom, who had solemnly pledged themselves to him, and to one another, to join him in deposing King George, and establishing James VIII on the throne. He then informed them that he had received letters (which he exhibited) under the hand of James himself, from Lorraine, promising to come over to Scotland and place his person under the protection of the valour and fidelity of his Scottish subjects; and that, in the meantime, ships, provided with arms, ammunition, and other military stores, would be sent over from France as soon as a landing port should be fixed upon. He thereupon produced or stated that he had in his possession a commission from James, appointing him his lieutenant-

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general, and commander of all the Jacobite forces in Scotland, and informed the meeting that he was furnished with money, and that an arrangement had been made by which he would be enabled to pay regularly the troops that should be raised, so that no gentleman who might join his standard, with his followers, would be put to any expense, and the country would be quite relieved from the burden of supporting the war. After the earl had finished his harangue, the meeting unanimously resolved to take up arms in support of the Chevalier; and after taking an oath of fidelity to the earl as the representative of James VIII and to each other, the persons present took leave of him, and promised to return immediately to their estates and raise their men, and to hold themselves in readiness to join the earl on the first summons. To enlist the feelings of the people in favour of the prince, copies of his manifesto, of which each individual who attended the meeting obtained a supply from the earl, were industriously circulated throughout the country, and dropped in the streets of the different towns in Scotland during night.

The government was not inattentive to the proceedings of the Jacobites, and measures were adopted immediately by the lord advocate for securing the chiefs. Under the authority of an act passed on the thirtieth of August, the following persons were summoned by him to appear at Edinburgh within certain specified periods, under the pain of a year's imprisonment and other penalties, to give bail for their allegiance to the government; namely, the Marquis of Huntly, the Earls of Seaforth, Winton, Carnwath, Southesk, Nithsdale, Linlithgow, Mar, Hume, Wigton, Kinnoul, Panmure, Marischal, and Breadalbane; the Viscounts Kenmure, Stormont, Kilsyth, Kingston, and Strathallan; the Lords Nairn, Rollo, Glenorchy, Drummond, and Ogilvie;

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Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Sir Donald Macdonald, Sir Patriek Murray of Auchtertyre, Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon, Sir John Maclean, Lieutenant-General George Hamilton, the masters of Stormont and Nairn; Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, James Stirling of Keir, Robert Stewart of Appin, John Campbell of Auchalader, William Murray, younger of Auchtertyre, Alexander Robertson of Struan, the chief of Mackinnon, Seton of Touch, Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lochiel, Robert Roy, alias Macgregor, Stewart of Ardshiel, Francis Stewart, brother to the Earl of Moray, John Cameron younger of Lochiel, the lairds of Clanranald, Glengary, and Keppoch; John Fullarton of Greenhall, Mackintosh younger of Borlum, James Malcolm of Grange, Henry Maule, brother to the Earl of Panmure, Walkinshaw of Barrafield, Colin Campbell of Glendarnel, Graham of Bucklyvie, George Home of Whitfield, John Drummond, brother to Lord Drummond, Lyon of Auchterhouse, Colonel Balfour, Bethune of Balfour, and William Drummond, servant to Lord Drummond. The time allowed for the appearance of such of the before-mentioned persons as resided to the south of the River Tay was seven days, to those on the north, fifteen, and to such as might be out of Scotland, sixty days after the day of citation. Very few of them however appeared, and the remainder, almost without exception, rushed at once into the insurrection.

The confederated chiefs had scarcely all of them reached their respective homes, when they were again summoned by Mar to meet him at Aboyne, on the third of September, to concert measures for appearing immediately in arms. Some of those who resided only a short distance from the appointed rendezvous attended,

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and having received instructions to assemble their men, and to join him without delay, at Kirkmichael, a village in Braemar, they returned to their estates, and despatched the fiery cross to summon their followers to the field. With sixty followers only, Mar proclaimed the Chevalier at Castletown in Braemar, after which he proceeded to Kirkmichael, where on the sixth of September he raised his standard, which was consecrated by prayer, in presence, according to some accounts, of a force of two thousand men, most of whom were horse. When the standard was in the course of being erected, the ball on the top of the pole fell off, an incident which was regarded by the superstitious Highlanders as a bad omen, and which threw a damp over the proceedings of the day.

On the following day, Mar intimated by a circular letter to the gentlemen of Perthshire, his appointment to the chief command of all King James's forces in Scotland, and he required them to hold themselves in readiness, to join him with their vassals when called upon. He also directed them to secure the arms of such persons as were hostile to the cause of King James, and desired they would prevent their men from plundering, or living at free quarters, upon his Majesty's subjects. "The king," he observes, "makes no doubt of your zeal for his service, especially at this juncture when his cause is so deeply concerned, and the relieving of our native country from oppression and a foreign yoke, too heavy for us and our posterity to bear, and when now is the time to endeavour the restoring, not only our rightful and native king, but also our country to its ancient, free, and independent constitution under him, whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations."

Two days thereafter the earl published the following

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declaration: "Our rightful and natural king, James the eighth, by the grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppressions, having been pleased to entrust us with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces, in this, his ancient kingdom of Scotland, and some of his faithful subjects and servants met at Aboyne; namely, the Lord Huntly, the Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, the Earl Southesk, Glengary from the clans, Glenderule from the Earl of Broadalbine, and gentlemen of Argyleshire, Mr. Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, the laird of Auldbair, Lieutenant-General George Hamilton, Major-General Gordon, and myself, having taken into consideration his Majesty's last and late orders to us, find that as this is now the time that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him, so it seems to us absolutely necessary, for his Majesty's service, and the relieving of our native country from all its hardships, that all his faithful and loving subjects, and lovers of their country, should, with all possible speed, put themselves into arms. These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforesaid, and by the king's special order to me thereunto, to require and empower you furthwith, to raise your fencible men with their best arms; and you are immediately to march them to join me and some other of the king's forces, at the Invor of Mar, on Monday next, in order to proceed in our march to attend the king's standard with his other forces. The king intending that his forces shall be paid from the time of their first setting out, he expects, as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no plundering or other disorders, upon the highest penalties, and his displeasure, which is expected you'll see observed.

"Now is the time for all good men to show their zeal



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for his Majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned, and the relief of our native country from oppression, and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our posterity to bear; and to endeavour the restoring not only of our rightful and native king, but also our country to its ancient, free, and independent constitution, under him whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations.

“ In so honourable, good, and just a cause, we cannot doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the royal family of Stuart, and our country, from sinking under oppression.

“ Your punctual observance of these orders is expected, for the doing of all which this shall be to you and all you employ in the execution of them, a sufficient warrant. Given at Brae-Mar, the ninth of September, 1715.  
MAR.”

As a contrast to this high-flown and liberty-sounding document, the following singular letter, written by the earl to his baillie in the lordship of Kildrummy, on the evening of the day on which the above declaration was issued, is curious. It exhibits, in a remarkable point of view, the despotic power which, even down to such a modern period, a feudal chief considered himself entitled to exercise with impunity over his vassals. Had such an order been issued by a baron, who had scarcely ever gone beyond the boundaries of his own demesnes, it might have been passed over without remark, as in perfect keeping with the ideas of a feudal despot; but to see the refined courtier threatening his own vassals and tenants with destruction, and even extermination, merely because they hesitated to take up arms in opposition to the government under which they lived, and under which the earl himself had served,



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is indeed very extraordinary. It is probable, however, that the earl intended this mandate as a mere *brutum fulmen*, as it is inconceivable that he could contemplate the execution of such a barbarous threat.

“ INVERCAULD, *Sept. 9, at night, 1715.*

“ JOCKE:— Ye was in the right not to come with the hundred men ye sent up to-night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing, when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their king and country’s account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the gentlemen of our neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men should be only refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these twenty-six years? And now, when it is come, and the king and country’s cause is at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish? I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you enclosed an order for the lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals. If they give ready obedience, it will make some amends, and if not ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies, by those who are ready soon to join me; and they may depend on it, that I will be the first to propose, and order their being so. Particularly, let my own tenants in Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, that I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. And they may believe this not only a threat, but, by all that’s sacred, I’ll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen that I’ll expect them in

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their best accoutrements, on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your king and country.

“Your assured friend and servant,

“MAR.

“*To John Forbes of Inverau, Bailie of Kildrummy.*”

While the Jacobite chiefs were collecting their forces, an event occurred which ought to have induced them to abandon, at least for a time, an enterprise signalized by such an untoward beginning. This was the death of Louis the Fourteenth, who expired on the first of September, after a short illness.<sup>7</sup> An occurrence more unfortunate to the cause of the Chevalier could scarcely have happened at such a conjuncture, as it tended to damp the spirits of his partisans, who looked upon Louis as the main prop of the cause. On receipt of this intelligence, the chiefs held a meeting to consult upon the course they ought to pursue under this new aspect of matters. Some of the more moderate were for returning home, and remaining quiet till the arrival of the Chevalier, should he receive any encouragement from the new government of France to proceed on his intended voyage; but the majority argued that they had already gone too far to recede with safety, and that as a general insurrection would take place in England in favour of the Chevalier, they should take the field forthwith. An immediate appeal to arms having been resolved upon, messengers were despatched to France to urge the Chevalier to hasten his departure, and the following notable manifesto, which had been privately printed at Edinburgh by Freebairn, one of the king's printers, was issued at the same time:—

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“Manifesto by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in asserting the undoubted rights of their lawful sovereign, James the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.; and for relieving this, his ancient kingdom, from the oppressions and grievances it lies under.

“His Majesty’s right of blood to the crowns of these realms is undoubted, and has never been disputed or arraigned by the least circumstance or lawful authority. By the laws of God, by the ancient constitutions, and by the positive unrepealed laws of the land, we are bound to pay his Majesty the duty of loyal subjects. Nothing can absolve us from this our duty of subjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful king — the laws of the land secure our religion and other interests; and his Majesty giving up himself to the support of his Protestant subjects puts the means of securing to us our concerns, religious and civil, in our own hands. Our fundamental constitution has been entirely altered and sunk amidst the various shocks of unstable faction, while, in searching out new expedients pretended for our security, it has produced nothing but daily disappointments, and has brought us and our posterity under a precarious dependence upon foreign councils and interests, and the power of foreign troops. The late unhappy union which was brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and the ruinous and selfish designs of others, has proved so far from lessening and healing the differences betwixt his Majesty’s subjects of Scotland and England, that it has widened and increased them. And it appears by experience so inconsistent with the rights, privileges, and interests of us, and our good neighbours and fellow

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subjects of England, that the continuance of it must inevitably ruin us, and hurt them; nor can any way be found out to relieve us, and restore our ancient and independent constitution, but by the restoring our rightful and natural king, who has the only undoubted right to reign over us. Neither can we hope that the party, who chiefly contributed to bring us into bondage, will at any time endeavour to work our relief, since it is known how strenuously they opposed, in two late instances, the efforts that were made by all Scotsmen by themselves, and supported by the best and wisest of the English, toward so desirable an end, as they will not adventure openly to disown the dissolution of the union to be. Our substance has been wasted in the late ruinous wars, and we see an unavoidable prospect of having wars continued on us and our posterity so long as the possession of the crown is not in the right line. The hereditary rights of the subjects, though confirmed by conventions and parliaments, are now treated as of no value or force, and past services to the Crown and royal family are now looked upon as grounds of suspicion. A packed up assembly, who call themselves a British parliament, have, so far as in them lies, inhumanely murdered their own and our sovereign, by promising a good sum of money as the reward of so execrable a crime. They have proscribed, by unaccountable and groundless impeachments and attainders, the worthy patriots of England, for their honourable and successful endeavours to restore trade, plenty, and peace to these nations.

“They have broken in upon the sacred laws of both countries by which the liberty of our persons was secured, and they have empowered a foreign prince (who, notwithstanding his expectations of the crown for fifteen years, is still unacquainted with our manners, customs,

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and language) to make an absolute conquest (if not timely prevented) of the three kingdoms, by investing himself with an unlimited power, not only of raising unnecessary forces at home, but also of calling in foreign troops, ready to promote his uncontrollable designs. Nor can we be ever hopeful of its being otherwise, in the way it is at present, for some generations to come. And the sad consequences of these unexampled proceedings have really been so fatal to great numbers of our kinsmen, friends, and fellow subjects of both kingdoms, that they have been constrained to abandon their country, houses, wives, and children, to give themselves up prisoners, and perhaps victims, to be sacrificed to the pleasure of foreigners, and a few hot-headed men of a restless faction, whom they employ. Our troops abroad, notwithstanding their long and remarkable good services, have been treated, since the peace, with neglect and contempt, and particularly in Holland; and it is not now the officers' long service, merit, and blood they have lost, but money and favour by which they can obtain justice in their preferments. So that it is evident the safety of his Majesty's person, and independency of his kingdoms, call loudly for immediate relief and defence.

“ The consideration of these unhappy circumstances, with the due regard we have to common justice, the peace and quiet of us and our posterity, and our duty to his Majesty, and his commands, are the powerful motives which have engaged us in our present undertaking, which we are firmly and heartily resolved to push to the utmost, and stand by one another to the last extremity, as the only solid and effectual means for putting an end to so dreadful a prospect, as by our present situation we have before our eyes, and with faithful hearts true to our rightful king, our country, and our neighbours, we



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earnestly beseech and expect, as his Majesty commands, the assistance of all our true fellow subjects to second our attempt; declaring hereby our sincere intentions that we will promote and concur in all lawful means for settling a lasting peace to these lands, under the auspicious government of our native-born rightful sovereign, the direction of our own domestic councils, and the protection of our native forces and troops. That we will in the same manner concur and endeavour to have our laws, liberties, and properties secured by the parliaments of both kingdoms; that by the wisdom of such parliaments we will endeavour to have such laws enacted as shall give absolute security to us, and future ages, for the Protestant religion, against all efforts of arbitrary power, popery, and all its other enemies.

“ Nor have we any reason to be distrustful of the goodness of God, the truth and purity of our holy religion, or the known excellency of his Majesty’s judgment, as not to hope, that in due time good examples and conversation with our learned divines will remove those prejudices, which we know his education in a Popish country has not riveted in his royal discerning mind; and we assure, as justice is a virtue in all religions and professions, so the doing of it to him will not lessen his good opinion of ours. That as the king is willing to give his royal indemnity for all that is past, so he will cheerfully concur in passing general acts of oblivion, that our fellow subjects, who have been misled, may have a fair opportunity of living with us in the same friendly manner that we design to live with them. That we will use our endeavours for redressing the bad usage of our troops abroad, and bringing the troops at home on the same footing and establishment of pay, as those of England. That we will sincerely and heartily go into such measures as shall maintain effectually, and establish,



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a right, firm, and lasting union betwixt his Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, and our good neighbours and fellow subjects of the kingdom of England.

"The peace of these nations being thus settled and we freed from foreign dangers, we will use our endeavours to have the army reduced to the usual number of guards and garrisons; and will concur in such laws and methods as shall relieve us of the heavy taxes and debts now lying upon us, and at the same time will support the public credit in all its parts. And we hereby faithfully promise and engage that every officer who joins with us in our king and country's cause shall not only enjoy the same post he now does, but shall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and station and the number of men he brings off with him to us. And each foot soldier so joining us shall have twenty shillings sterling, and each trooper or dragoon, who brings horse and accoutrements along with him, £12 sterling gratuity, besides their pay; and in general we shall concur with all our fellow subjects in such measures as shall make us flourish at home, and be formidable abroad, under our rightful sovereign, and the peaceable harmony of our ancient fundamental constitution, undisturbed by a pretender's interests and councils from abroad, or a restless faction at home. In so honourable, so good, and just a cause, we do not doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often succoured the royal family of Stuarts, and our country from sinking under oppression."

A document better calculated to arouse the national feeling could not have been penned. Every topic which could excite a spirit of disaffection against the government then existing is artfully introduced, and enforced with an energy of diction and a strength of reasoning admirably fitted for exciting the spirit of a people living,

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as they imagined, in a state of national degradation. But this manifesto which, a few years before, would have set the whole of Scotland in a flame, produced little or no effect in those quarters where alone it was necessary to make such an appeal.

## CHAPTER VI

### BATTLE OF PRESTON

WHILE the Earl of Mar was thus busily engaged exciting a rebellion in the north, the government was no less active in making preparations to meet it. Apprehensive of a general rising in England, particularly in the west, where a spirit of disaffection had often displayed itself, and to which the insurrection in Scotland was, it was believed, intended as a diversion, the government, instead of despatching troops to Scotland, posted the whole disposable force in the disaffected districts, at convenient distances, by which disposition, considerable bodies could be assembled together to assist each other in case of need. The wisdom of this plan soon became apparent, as there can be no doubt, that had an army been sent into Scotland to suppress the rebellion in the north, an insurrection would have broken out in England, which might have been fatal to the government.

To strengthen, however, the military force in Scotland, the regiments of Forfar, Orrey, and Hill were recalled from Ireland. These arrived at Edinburgh about the twenty-fourth of August, and were soon thereafter despatched along with other troops to the west, under Major-General Wightman, for the purpose of securing the fords of the Forth, and the pass of Stirling. These troops, being upon the reduced establishment, did not exceed sixteen hundred men in whole, a force totally inadequate for the protection of such an important

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post. Orders were, therefore, sent to the Earl of Stairs' regiment of dragoons and two foot regiments, which lay in the north of England, to march to the camp in the park of Stirling with all expedition, and at same time, Evans's regiment of dragoons, and Clyton's and Wightman's regiments of foot were recalled from Ireland.

During the time the camp was forming at Stirling, the friends of the Chevalier at Edinburgh formed the daring project of seizing the castle of Edinburgh, the possession of which would have been of vast importance to the Jacobite cause. Lord Drummond, a Catholic, was at the head of this party, which consisted of about ninety gentlemen selected for the purpose, about one half of whom were Highlanders. In the event of success, each of the adventurers was to receive £100 sterling and a commission in the army. To facilitate their design, they employed one, Arthur, who had formerly been an ensign in the Scotch guards, to corrupt some of the soldiers in the garrison, and who by money and promises of preferment induced a sergeant, a corporal, and two sentinels to enter into the views of the conspirators. These engaged to attend at a certain place upon the wall, on the north, near the Sally port, in order to assist the conspirators in their ascent. The latter had prepared a scaling-ladder made of ropes, capable of holding several men abreast, and had so contrived it that it could be drawn up through means of pulleys, by a small rope which the soldiers were to fasten behind the wall. Having completed their arrangements, they fixed on the ninth of September for the attempt, being the day after the last detachment of the government troops quartered in camp in St. Anne's Yards, near Edinburgh, had set off for Stirling. But the projectors of this well-concerted enterprise were doomed to lament its failure when almost on the eve of completion.

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Arthur, the officer who had bribed the soldiers, having engaged his brother, a physician in Edinburgh, in the Jacobite interest, let him into the secret of the design upon the castle. Doctor Arthur, who appears to have been a man of a timorous disposition, grew alarmed at this intelligence, and so deep had been the impression made upon his mind while contemplating the probable consequences of such a step, that on the day before the attempt his spirits became so depressed as to attract the notice of his wife, who importuned him to inform her of the cause. He complied, and his wife, without acquainting him, sent an anonymous letter, by a servant, to Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, lord justice clerk, acquainting him of the conspiracy. Cockburn received this letter at ten o'clock at night, and sent it off with a letter from himself to Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, the deputy-governor of the castle, who received the communication shortly before eleven. Stuart lost no time in ordering the officers to double their guards and make diligent rounds; but probably supposing that no attempt would be made that night, he went to bed after issuing these instructions. In the meantime, the conspirators had assembled at a tavern preparatory to their attempt, but unfortunately for its success they lingered among their cups far beyond the time they had fixed upon for putting their project into execution. In fact, they did not assemble at the bottom of the wall till after the deputy-governor had issued his orders, but ignorant of what had passed within the castle, they proceeded to tie the rope, which had been let down by the soldiers, to the ladder. Unhappily for the whole party, the hour for changing the sentinels had arrived, and while the traitorous soldiers were in the act of drawing up the ladder, one, Lieutenant Lindsay, at the head of a party of fresh sentinels, came upon them on

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his way to the Sally port. The soldiers, alarmed at the approach of Lindsay's party, immediately slipped the rope, and the ladder fell to the ground. The noise which this occurrence produced alarmed one of the sentinels, who instantly discharged his piece, upon which the conspirators, perceiving that they were discovered, fled and dispersed. A party of the town-guard which the lord provost, at the request of the lord justice clerk, had sent to patrol about the castle, attracted by the firing, immediately rushed from the West port, and repaired to the spot, but all the conspirators, with the exception of four whom they secured, had escaped. These were one Captain Maclean, an officer who had fought under Dundee at Killiecrankie, whom they found lying on the ground much injured by a fall from the ladder or from a precipice; Alexander Ramsay and George Boswell, writers in Edinburgh; and one Lesly who had been in the service of the same Duchess of Gordon who had distinguished herself in the affair of the medal. This party picked up the ladder and a quantity of muskets and carbines which the conspirators had thrown away in their flight.

Such was the result of an enterprise which had been matured with great judgment, and which would probably have succeeded, but for the trifling circumstance before mentioned. The capture of such an important fortress as the castle of Edinburgh, at such a time, would have been of vast importance to the Jacobites, inasmuch as it would not only have afforded them an abundant supply of military stores, with which it was then well provided, and put them in possession of a considerable sum of money, but would also have served as a rallying point to the disaffected living to the south of the Forth, who only waited a favourable opportunity to declare themselves. Besides giving them the command of the



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city, the possession of the castle by a Jacobite force would have compelled the commander of the government forces to withdraw the greater part of his troops from Stirling, and to leave that highly important post exposed to the northern insurgents. Had the attempt succeeded, Lord Drummond, the contriver of the design, was to have been made governor of the castle, and notice of its capture was to have been announced to some of the Jacobite partisans on the opposite coast of Fife, by firing three rounds of cannon from its battlements. On hearing the report of the guns, these men were instantly to have communicated the intelligence to the Earl of Mar, who was to hasten south with all his forces.

As the appointment of a person of rank, influence, and talent, to the command of the army, destined to oppose the Earl of Mar, was of great importance, the Duke of Argyle, who had served with distinction abroad, and who had formerly acted as commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, was pitched upon as generalissimo of the army encamped at Stirling. Having received instructions from his Majesty, at an audience on the eighth of September, he departed for Scotland the following day, accompanied by some of the Scottish nobility and other persons of distinction, and arrived at Edinburgh on the fourteenth. About the same time, the Earl of Sutherland, who had offered his services to raise the clans in the northern Highlands, in support of the government, was sent down from London to Leith in a ship of war with orders to obtain a supply of arms and ammunition from the governor of the castle of Edinburgh. He arrived on the twenty-first of September, and after giving instructions for the shipment of these supplies, departed for the north.

When the Duke of Argyle reached Edinburgh, he

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found that Mar had made considerable progress in the insurrection, and that the regular forces at Stirling were far inferior in point of numbers to those of the Jacobite commander. He, therefore, on the day he arrived in the capital, addressed a letter to the magistrates of Glasgow (who, on the first appearance of the insurrection, had offered, in a letter to Lord Townshend, one of the secretaries of state, to raise six hundred men, in support of the government, at the expense of the city), requesting them to send forthwith five or six hundred men to Stirling, under the command of such officers as they should think fit to appoint, to join the forces stationed there. In compliance with this demand, three battalions, amounting to between six and seven hundred men, under the command of the lord provost of the city, were successively despatched to Stirling on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of September. On the arrival of the first battalion, the duke addressed a second letter from Stirling to the magistrates of Glasgow, thanking them for their promptitude, and requesting them to send intimation, with the greatest despatch, to all the friends of the government in the west, to assemble all the fencible forces at Glasgow, and to hold them in readiness to march when required. In connection with these instructions, the duke, at the same time, wrote letters of a similar import to the magistrates of all the well-affected burghs, and to private individuals who were known to be favourably disposed. The most active measures were accordingly adopted in the south and west by the friends of the government, and in a short time a sufficient force was raised to keep the disaffected in these districts in check.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Mar and his friends were no less active in preparing for the campaign. Pursuant to an arrangement with the Jacobite chiefs, General

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Gordon, an officer of great bravery and experience, was despatched into the Highlands to raise the northwestern clans, with instructions either to join Mar with such forces as he could collect at the fords of the Forth, or to march upon Glasgow by Dumbarton. Having collected a body of between four and five thousand men, chiefly Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, Gordon attempted to surprise Fort William, and succeeded so far as to carry by surprise some of the outworks, sword in hand, in which were a lieutenant, sergeant, and twenty-five men; but the garrison being timeously alarmed, he withdrew his men, and marched toward Inverary. This route, it is said, was taken at the suggestion of Campbell of Glendarnel, who, at the first meeting of the Jacobites, had assured Mar and his friends that if the more northern clans would take Argyleshire in their way to the south, their numbers would be greatly increased by the Macleans, Macdonalds, Macdougalls, Macneills, and the other Maes of that shire, together with a great number of Campbells, of the family and followers of the Earl of Breadalbane, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, all of whom, he said, would join in the insurrection, when they saw the other clans in that country at hand to protect them against those in the interest of the Duke of Argyle.

When the Earl of Islay, brother to the Duke of Argyle, heard of General Gordon's movements, he assembled about twenty-five hundred men to prevent a rising of the clans in the shire of Argyle, and of the disaffected branches of the name of Campbell. On arriving before Inverary, General Gordon found the place protected by entrenchments which the earl had thrown up. He did not venture on an attack, but contented himself with encamping at the northeast side of the town, at

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nearly the distance of a mile, where he continued some days without any hostile attempt being made on either side. It was evidently contrary to Gordon's plan to hazard an action, his sole design in entering Argyleshire being to give an opportunity to the Jacobite population of that district to join his standard, which the keeping such a large body of men locked up in Inverary would greatly assist.

During the continuance of the "Black Camp," before Inverary, as General Gordon's party was denominated by the Campbells, the Earl of Islay and his men were kept in a state of continual alarm from the most trifling causes. On one occasion, an amusing incident occurred, which excited the fears of the Campbells, and showed how greatly they dreaded an attack. Sometime before this occurrence, a small body of horse from Kintyre had joined the earl. The men were quartered in the town, but the horses were put out to graze on the east side of the small river that runs past Inverary. The horses, disliking their quarters, took their departure one night in search of better pasture. They sought their way along the shore for the purpose of crossing the river at the lower end of the town. The trampling of their hoofs on the gravel being heard at some distance by the garrison, the earl's men were thrown into the utmost consternation, as they had no doubt that the enemy was advancing to attack them. As the horses were on full gallop, and advancing nearer every moment, the noise increasing as they approached, nothing but terror was to be seen in every face. With trembling hands they seized their arms and put themselves in a defensive posture to repel the attack, but they were fortunately soon relieved from the panic they had been thrown into by some of the horses which had passed the river approaching without riders; so that "at last," says the

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narrator of this anecdote, "the whole was found only to be a plot among the Kintyre horse to desert not to the enemy, but to their own country; for 'tis to be supposed the horses, as well as their owners, were of very loyal principles."

Shortly after this event, another occurrence took place, which terminated not quite so ridiculously as the other. One night the sergeant on duty, when going his rounds at the quarter of the town opposite to the place where the clans lay, happened to make some mistake in the watchword. The sentinel on duty, supposing the sergeant and his party to be enemies, discharged his piece at them. The earl, alarmed at the firing, immediately ordered the drums to beat to arms, and in a short time the whole of his men were assembled on the castle green, where they were drawn up in battalia in regular order by torch or candle-light, the night being extremely dark. As soon as they were marshalled, the earl gave them orders to fire in platoons toward the quarter whence they supposed the enemy was approaching, and, accordingly, they opened a brisk fire, which was kept up for a considerable time, by which several of their own sentinels in returning from their posts were wounded. Whilst the Campbells were thus employed upon the castle green, several gentlemen, some say general officers, who liked to fight "under covert," retired to the square tower or castle of Inverary, from the windows of which they issued their orders. When the earl found that he had no enemy to contend with, he ordered his men to cease firing, and to continue all night under arms. This humorous incident, however, was attended with good consequences to the terrified Campbells, as it had the effect of relieving them from the presence of the enemy. General Gordon, who had not the most distant intention of entering the town, on hearing the



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close and regular firing from the garrison, concluded that some regular forces had entered the town, to celebrate whose arrival the firing had taken place, and alarmed for his own safety, sounded a retreat toward Perthshire before daylight.

No sooner, however, had the clans left Inverary, than a detachment of the Earl of Breadalbane's men, to the number of about five hundred, entered the shire under the command of Campbell of Glenlyon. To expel them, the Earl of Islay sent a select body of about seven hundred men, in the direction of Lorn, under the command of Colonel Campbell of Fanab, an old experienced officer, who came up with Glenlyon's detachment at Glenscheluch, a small village at the end of the lake, called Lochnell, in the mid division of Lorn, about twenty miles distant from Inverary. Both sides immediately prepared for battle, and to lighten themselves as much as possible, the men threw off their plaids and other encumbrances. Whilst both parties were standing gazing on each other with fury in their looks, waiting for the signal to commence battle, a parley was proposed, in consequence of which, a conference was held half-way between the lines between the commanders. The result was, that the Breadalbane men, to spare the effusion of the Campbell blood, agreed to lay down their arms on condition of being allowed to march out of the country without disturbance. These terms, being communicated to both detachments, were approved of by a loud shout of joy, and hostages were immediately exchanged on both sides for the due performance of the articles, which were, thereupon, proclaimed in the centre between the two armies. The Earl of Islay, on coming up with the remainder of his forces, was dissatisfied with the terms of the capitulation, as he considered that he had it in his power to have cut off Glenlyon's party, but he was



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persuaded to accede to the articles, which were accordingly honourably observed on both sides.

In the meantime, the Earl of Mar had collected a considerable force with which he marched, about the middle of September, to Moulinearn, a small village in Athole, where he proclaimed the Chevalier. On entering Athole, he was joined by five hundred Athole men, under the Marquis of Tullibardine, and by the party of the Earl of Breadalbane's men, under Campbell of Glenlyon and Campbell of Glendarnel. He was afterward joined by the old earl himself, who, although he had, the day preceding his arrival, procured an affidavit from a physician in Perth, and the minister of the parish of Kenmore, of which he was patron, certifying his total inability, from age, and a complication of diseases, to implement a mandate of the government requiring him to attend at Edinburgh, yet, nevertheless, found himself able enough to take the field in support of the Chevalier. Having received intelligence that the Earl of Rothes, and some of the gentlemen of Fife, were advancing with five hundred of the militia of that county to seize Perth, he sent Colonel John Hay, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, with a detachment of two hundred horse to take possession of that town, who accordingly entered it on the fourteenth of September, without opposition, and there proclaimed the Chevalier. The provost made indeed a demonstration of opposition by collecting between three and four hundred men in the market place; but Colonel Hay having been joined by a party of 150 men which had been sent into the town a few days before by the Duke of Athole, the provost dismissed them. When the Earl of Rothes, who was advancing upon Perth with a body of five hundred men, heard of the capture of Perth, he retired to Leslie, and sent notice of the event to the Duke of Argyle. The possession of

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Perth was of importance to Mar in a double point of view, as it not only gave him the command of the whole of Fife, in addition to the country north of the Tay, but also inspired his friends with confidence. Accordingly, the Chevalier was proclaimed at Aberdeen by the earl marischal, at Castle Gordon, by the Marquis of Huntly, at Brechin, by the Earl of Panmure, at Montrose, by the Earl of Southesk, and at Dundee, by Graham of Duntroon, who was afterward created Viscount Dundee, by the Chevalier.

As Mar had no intention of descending into the Lowlands himself without a considerable force, he remained several days at Moulinearn waiting for the clans who had promised to join him, and in the meantime directed Colonel Hay, whom on the eighteenth of September, he appointed governor of Perth, to retain possession of that town at all hazards, and to defend it to the last extremity should the Duke of Argyle attempt to drive him out. He also directed him to tender to the inhabitants the oath of allegiance to the Chevalier, and to expel from the town all persons who refused to take the oath. After this purgation had been effected, Governor Hay was ordered to appoint a free election of magistrates by poll, to open all letters passing through the post office, and to appoint a new postmaster in whom he could have confidence. To support Governor Hay in case of an attack, Mar sent down a party of Robertsons, on the twenty-second, under the command of Alexander Robertson of Struan, their chief. "You must take care," says Mar in a letter which he wrote to Hay the same day, "to please the elector of Strowan, as they call him. He is an old colonel; but, as he says himself, understands not much of the trade. So he'll be ready to be advised by Colonel Balfour and Urquhart. As for money, I am not so rife of it as I hope to be soon; but I have

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sent some of the little I have, fifty guineas, by the bearer."

At this time, Mar's forces did not probably exceed three thousand men, but their number having been increased to upwards of five thousand within a few days thereafter, he marched down upon Perth, which he entered on the twenty-eighth of September, on which day the Honourable James Murray, second son of the Viscount Stormont, arrived at Perth with letters from the Chevalier to the earl, giving him assurances of speedy and powerful succour, and promises from the Chevalier, as was reported, of appearing personally in Scotland in a short time. This gentleman had gone over to France in the month of April preceding, to meet the Chevalier, who had appointed him principal secretary for Scotland, and had lately landed at Dover, whence he had travelled *incognito* over land to Edinburgh, where, although well known, he escaped detection. After spending a few days in Edinburgh, during which time he attended, it is said, several private meetings of the friends of the Chevalier, he crossed the Frith in an open boat at Newhaven, and landed at Burntisland, whence he proceeded to Perth.

The first operations of the insurgents were marked by vigour and intrepidity. The seizure of Perth, though by no means a brilliant affair, was almost as important as a victory would have been at such a crisis, and another dashing exploit, which a party of the earl's army performed a few days after his arrival at Perth, was calculated to make an impression equally favourable to the Jacobite cause. The account of this affair stands thus. Before the Earl of Sutherland took his departure from Leith for Dunrobin castle, to raise a force in the north, he arranged with the government for a supply of arms, ammunition, and military stores, which was to be furnished by the governor of Edinburgh castle, and sent

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down to the north with as little delay as possible. Accordingly, about the end of September, a vessel belonging to Burntisland was freighted for that purpose, on board of which were put between three and four hundred stands of arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores. The vessel anchored in Leith roads, but was prevented from passing down the Frith by a strong northeasterly wind, which, continuing to blow very hard, induced the captain for security's sake to weigh anchor and stand over to Burntisland roads, on the opposite coast of Fife, under the protection of the weather shore. The captain went on shore at Burntisland, to visit his wife and family, who resided in the town, and the destination of the vessel and the nature of her cargo being made known to some persons in the Jacobite interest, information thereof was immediately communicated by them to the Earl of Mar, who at once resolved to send a detachment to Burntisland to seize the vessel. Accordingly, he despatched on the evening of the second of October, a party of four hundred horse, and five hundred foot, from Perth to Burntisland, with instructions so to order their march as not to enter the latter place till about midnight. To draw off the attention of the Duke of Argyle from this expedition, Mar made a movement as if he intended to march with all his forces upon Alva, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, in consequence of which Argyle, who had received intelligence of Mar's supposed design, kept his men under arms the whole day in expectation of an attack. Meanwhile, the party having reached their destination, the foot entered Burntisland unperceived, and while the horse surrounded the town to prevent any person from carrying the intelligence of their arrival out of it, the foot seized all the boats in the harbour and along the shore, to cut off all communication by sea.

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About 120 men were, thereupon, sent off in some boats to board the ship, which they secured without opposition. They at first attempted to bring the vessel into the harbour, but were prevented by the state of the tide. They, however, lost no time in discharging her cargo, and having pressed a number of carts and horses from the neighbourhood into their service, the detachment set off undisturbed for Perth with their booty, early next morning, where they arrived without molestation. Besides the arms and other warlike materials which they found in the vessel, the detachment carried off a hundred stands of arms from the town, and between thirty and forty more which they found in another ship. Emboldened by the success of this enterprise, parties of the insurgents spread themselves over Fife, took possession of all the towns on the north of the Frith of Forth, from Burntisland to Fifeness, and prohibited all communication between them and the opposite coast. The Earl of Rothes, who since the capture had quartered at Leslie, was now obliged, for fear of being cut off, to retire to Stirling under the protection of a detachment of horse and foot, which had been sent from Stirling to support him, under the command of the Earl of Forfar and Colonel Ker.

Mar had not yet been joined by any of the northern clans, nor by those under General Gordon; but on the fifth of October, about five hundred of the Mackintoshes arrived under the command of the laird of Borlum, better known by the name of Brigadier Mackintosh, an old and experienced soldier, who, as uncle of the chief, had placed himself at the head of that clan in consequence of his nephew's minority. This clan had formerly sided with the revolution party; but, influenced by the Borlum, who was a zealous Jacobite, they were among the first to espouse the cause of the Chevalier, and had



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seized upon Inverness before some of the other clans had taken the field. On the following day the earl was also joined by the Marquis of Huntly at the head of five hundred horse and two thousand foot, chiefly Gordons; and on the tenth by the earl marischal with three hundred horse, among whom were many gentlemen, and five hundred foot. These different accessions increased Mar's army to upwards of eight thousand men.

Mar ought now to have instantly opened the campaign by advancing upon Stirling, and attacking the Duke of Argyle, whose forces did not, at this time, amount to two thousand men. In his rear he had nothing to dread, as the Earl of Seaforth, who was advancing to join him with a body of three thousand foot and six hundred horse, had left a division of two thousand of his men behind him to keep the Earl of Sutherland, and the other friends of the government in the northern Highlands, in check. As the whole of the towns on the eastern coast from Burntisland to Inverness were in possession of his detachments, and as there was not a single hostile party along the whole of that extensive stretch, no obstacle could have occurred, had he marched south, to prevent him from obtaining a regular supply of provisions for his army and such warlike stores as might reach any of these ports from France. One French vessel had already safely landed a supply of arms and ammunition in a northern port, and another during Mar's stay at Perth boldly sailed up the Frith of Forth, in presence of some English ships of war, and entered the harbour of Burntisland with a fresh supply. But though personally brave, Mar was deficient in military genius, and was altogether devoid of that decisive promptitude of action by which Montrose and Dundee were distinguished. Instead, therefore, of attempting at once to strike a decisive blow at Argyle, the insurgent



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general lingered at Perth upwards of a month. This error, however, might have been repaired had he not committed a more fatal one by detaching a considerable part of his army, including the Macintoshes, who were the best armed of his forces, at the solicitation of a few English Jacobites, who, having taken up arms in the north of England, craved his support.

About the period of Mar's departure for Scotland, the government had obtained information of a dangerous conspiracy in England in favour of the Chevalier, in consequence of which the titular Duke of Powis was committed to the Tower, and Lords Lansdown and Duplin were arrested, as implicated in the conspiracy, and a warrant was issued for the apprehension of the Earl of Jersey. At the same time, a message from the king was sent to the House of Commons, informing them that his Majesty had given orders for the apprehension of Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Thomas Forster, junior, member for the county of Northumberland, and other members of the lower house, as being engaged in a design to support an invasion of the kingdom. Sir William Wyndham was accordingly apprehended, and committed to the Tower, but Mr. Forster, having been apprised of the arrival of a messenger at Durham with the warrant for his apprehension, avoided him, and joined the Earl of Derwentwater, a young Catholic nobleman, against whom a similar warrant had been issued. Tired of shifting from place to place, they convened a meeting of their friends in Northumberland to consult as to the course they should pursue, at which it was resolved immediately to take up arms in support of the Chevalier. In pursuance of a resolution entered into, about sixty horsemen, mostly gentlemen, and some attendants, met on Thursday, the sixth of October, at a place called Greenrig, whence, after some consultation,

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they marched to Plainfield, a place on the River Coquet, where they were joined by a few adherents. From Plainfield they departed for Rothbury, a small market town, where they took up their quarters for the night.

Next morning, their numbers still increasing, they advanced to Warkworth, where they were joined by Lord Widdrington, with thirty horse, on the following day. Mr. Forster was now appointed to the command of this force, not on account of his military abilities, for he had none, but because he was a Protestant, and therefore less objectionable to the high-church party than the Earl of Derwentwater, who, in the absence of a regularly bred commander, should, on account of his rank, have been named to the chief command. On Sunday morning, Mr. Forster sent Mr. Buxton, a clergyman of Derbyshire, who acted as chaplain to the insurgent party, to the parson of Warkworth, with orders to pray for the Chevalier by name as king, and to introduce into the Litany the name of Mary, the queen-mother, and all the dutiful branches of the royal family, and omit the names of King George, and the prince and princess. The minister of the parish wisely declined to obey these orders, and for his own safety retired to New-castle. The parishioners, however, were not deprived of divine service, as Mr. Buxton, on the refusal of the parson to officiate as directed, entered the church, and performed in his stead with considerable effect.

On Monday, the tenth of October, Mr. Forster was joined by forty horse from the Scottish border, on which day he openly proclaimed the Chevalier with sound of trumpet, and such other formalities as circumstances would admit of. This small party remained at Warkworth till the fourteenth, when they proceeded to Alnwick, where they were joined by many of their friends, and thence marched to Morpeth. At Felton bridge

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they were reinforced by another party of Scottish horse to the number of seventy, chiefly gentlemen from the border, so that on entering Morpeth their force amounted to three hundred horse. In the course of his march Forster had numerous offers of service from the country people, which, however, he was obliged to decline from the want of arms; but he promised to avail himself of them as soon as he had provided himself with arms and ammunition, which he expected to find in Newcastle, whither he intended to proceed.

In connection with these movements, Launcelot Errington, a Newcastle shipmaster, undertook to surprise Holy Island, which was guarded by a few soldiers, exchanged weekly from the garrison of Berwick. In a military point of view, the possession of such an insignificant post was of little importance, but it was considered by the Jacobites as useful for making signals to such French vessels as might appear off the Northumberland coast with supplies for the insurgents. Errington, it appears, was known to the garrison, as he had been in the habit of visiting the island on business; and having arrived off the island on the tenth of October, he was allowed to enter the port, no suspicions being entertained of his design. Pursuant to the plan he had formed for surprising the castle, he invited the greater part of the garrison to visit his vessel, and having got them on board, he and the party which accompanied him left the vessel, and took possession of the castle without opposition. Errington endeavoured to apprise his friends at Warkworth of his success by signals, but these were not observed, and the place was retaken the following day by a detachment of thirty men from the garrison of Berwick, and a party of fifty of the inhabitants of the town, who, crossing the sands at low water, entered the island, and carried the fort sword

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in hand. Errington, in attempting to escape, received a shot in the thigh, and being captured, was carried prisoner to Berwick; whence he had the good fortune to make his escape in disguise.

The possession of Newcastle, where the Jacobite interest was very powerful, was the first object of the Northumberland insurgents; but they were frustrated in their design by the vigilance of the magistrates. Having first secured all suspected persons, they walled up all the gates with stone and lime, except the Brampton gate on which they placed two pieces of cannon. An association of the well-affected inhabitants was formed for the defence of the town, and the churchmen and dissenters, laying aside their antipathies for a time, enrolled themselves as volunteers. Seven hundred of these were immediately armed by the magistrates. The keelmen also, who were chiefly dissenters, offered to furnish a similar number of men to defend that town; but their services were not required, as two successive reinforcements of regular troops from Yorkshire entered the town on the ninth and twelfth of October. When the insurgents received intelligence of the state of affairs at Newcastle, they retired to Hexham, having a few days before sent an express to the Earl of Mar for a reinforcement of foot.

The news of the rising under Mr. Forster, having been communicated to the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Lieutenant of East Lothian or Haddingtonshire, in letters from Berwick, his lordship called a meeting of his deputy lieutenants at Haddington early in October, and at the same time issued instructions to them to put the laws in execution against "papists" and other suspected persons, by binding them over to keep the peace, and by seizing their arms and horses in terms of a late act of Parliament. In pursuance of this order,

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Mr. Hepburn of Humbie, and Doctor Sinclair of Hermandston, two of the deputy lieutenants, resolved to go the morning after the instructions were issued, to the house of Mr. Hepburn of Keith, a zealous Jacobite, against whom they appear to have entertained hostile feelings. Doctor Sinclair accordingly appeared next morning with a party of armed men at the place where Hepburn of Humbie had agreed to meet him; but as the latter did not appear at the appointed hour, the doctor proceeded towards Keith with his attendants. On their way to Keith, Hepburn enjoined his party, in case of resistance, not to fire till they should be first fired at by Mr. Hepburn of Keith or his party; and on arriving near the house he reiterated these instructions. When the arrival of Sinclair and his party was announced to Mr. Hepburn of Keith, the latter, at once suspecting the cause, immediately demanded inspection of the doctor's orders. Sinclair, thereupon, sent forward a servant with the Marquis of Tweeddale's commission, who, finding the gates shut, offered to show the commission to Hepburn at the dining room window. On being informed of the nature of the commission, Hepburn signified the utmost contempt at it, and furiously exclaiming, "God damn the doctor and the marquis both," disappeared. The servant, thinking that Mr. Hepburn had retired for a time to consult with his friends before inspecting the commission, remained before the inner gate waiting for his return. But instead of coming back to receive the commission, Hepburn and his friends immediately mounted their horses, and whilst his daughters, who seem to have partaken of the Jacobite fervour of their father, were calling out to one another that they should soon see very fine sport, old Keith, after ordering the gates to be thrown open, sallied out with his company, and instantly discharging a pistol



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at the servant, which wounded him in two places, he rode up to the doctor, who was standing near the outer gate, and, after firing another pistol at him, attacked him sword in hand and wounded him in the head. Sinclair's party, in terms of their instructions, immediately returned the fire, and Mr. Hepburn's younger son was unfortunately killed on the spot. Hepburn and his party, disconcerted by this event, instantly galloped off towards the Borders and joined the Jacobite standard. The death of young Hepburn, who was the first person who fell in the insurrection of 1715, highly incensed the Jacobites, who longed for an opportunity, which was soon afforded them, of punishing its author, Doctor Sinclair.

Whilst Mr. Forster was thus employed in Northumberland, the Earl of Kenmure, who had received a commission from the Earl of Mar to raise the Jacobites in the south of Scotland, was assembling his friends on the Scottish border. Early in October he had held private meetings with some of them, at which it had been resolved to make an attempt upon Dumfries, which they expected to surprise before the friends of the government there should be aware of their design; but the magistrates were put on their guard on the eighth of October by a letter from Locherbridge Hill, on which day also Cockburn, the lord justice clerk, sent an express to the provost of the town with similar intelligence. Lord Kenmure first appeared in arms, at the head of 150 horse, on the eleventh of October at Moffat, where he proclaimed the Chevalier, on the evening of which day he was joined by the Earl of Wintoun and fourteen attendants. Next day he proceeded to Lochmaben, where he also proclaimed "the Pretender." Alarmed at his approach, the magistrates of Dumfries ordered the drums to beat to arms, and for several days



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the town exhibited a scene of activity and military bustle perfectly ludicrous, when the trifling force with which it was threatened is considered. Kenmure advanced within two miles of the town, but being informed of the preparations which had been made to receive him, he returned to Lochmaben. He thereupon marched to Ecclefechan, where he was joined by Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell, with fourteen horsemen, and thence to Langholm, and afterward to Hawick, where he proclaimed the Chevalier. On the seventeenth of October, Kenmure marched to Jedburgh, with the intention of proceeding to Kelso, and there also proclaimed the prince; but learning that Kelso was protected by a party under the command of Sir William Bennett of Grubbet, he crossed the Border with the design of forming a junction with Forster.

We must now direct attention to the measures taken by the Earl of Mar in compliance with the request of Mr. Forster and his friends to send them a body of foot. As Mar had not resolution to attempt the passage of the Forth, which, with the forces under his command, he could have easily effected, he had no other way of reinforcing the English Jacobites than by attempting to transport a part of his army across the Frith of Forth. As there were several English men-of-war in the Frith, the idea of sending a body of two thousand men across such an extensive arm of the sea appeared chimerical; yet, nevertheless, Mar resolved upon this bold and hazardous attempt.

To command this adventurous expedition, the Jacobite general pitched upon Old Borlum, as Brigadier Mackintosh was familiarly called, who readily undertook, with the assistance of the Earl of Panmure, and other able officers, to perform a task which few men, even of experience, would have undertaken without a

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grudge. For this hazardous service, a picked body of two thousand men were selected, consisting of the whole of the Mackintoshes, the greater part of Mar's own regiment, and of the regiments of the Earl of Strathmore, Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray, and Drummond of Logie-Drummond. To avoid the men-of-war, which were stationed between Leith and Burntisland, it was arranged that the expedition should embark at Crail, Pittenweem, and Ely, three small towns near the mouth of the Frith, whither the troops were to proceed with the utmost secrecy and expedition by the most unfrequented ways through the interior of Fife. At same time, to amuse the ships of war, it was concerted that another select body of one hundred men should openly march across the country to Burntisland, seize upon the boats in the harbour, and make preparations as if they intended to cross the Frith. With remarkable foresight, Mar gave orders that the expedition should embark with the flowing of the tide, that in case of detection, the ships of war should be obstructed by it in their pursuit down the Frith.

Accordingly, on the ninth or tenth of October, both detachments, consisting of twenty-five hundred men, left Perth escorted by a body of horse under the command of Sir John Areskine of Alva, the master of Sinclair, and Sir James Sharp, grandson of Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews, and whilst the main body proceeded in a southeasterly direction, through the district of Fife bordering upon the Tay, so as to pass unobserved by the men-of-war, the other division marched directly across the country down to Burntisland, where they made a feint as if preparing to embark in presence of the ships of war, which then lay at anchor in Leith Roads. When the commanders of these vessels observed the motions of the insurgents, they manned their

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boats and despatched them across to attack them should they venture out to sea, and slipping their cables they stood over with their vessels to the Fife shore to support their boats. As the boats and ships approached, the insurgents, who had already partly embarked, returned on shore; and those on land proceeded to erect a battery, as if for the purpose of covering the embarkation. An interchange of shots then took place without damage on either side, till night put an end to hostilities. In the meantime, Brigadier Mackintosh had arrived at the different stations fixed for his embarkation, at the distance of nearly twenty miles from the ships of war, and was actively engaged in shipping his men in boats which had been previously secured for their reception by his friends in these quarters. The first division crossed the same night, being Wednesday, the twelfth of October, and the second followed next morning. When almost half across the channel, which, between the place of embarkation and the opposite coast, is about sixteen or seventeen miles broad, the fleet of boats was descried from the topmasts of the men-of-war, and the commanders then perceived, for the first time, the deception which had been so successfully practised upon them by the detachment at Burntisland. Unfortunately, at the time they made this discovery, both wind and tide were against them; but they sent out their boats fully manned, which succeeded, however, in capturing only two boats with forty men, who were carried into Leith, and committed to jail. As soon as the tide changed, the men-of-war proceeded down the Frith, in pursuit, but they came too late, and the whole boats, with the exception of eight (which being far behind, took refuge in the Isle of May, to avoid capture), reached the opposite coast in perfect safety, and disembarked their men at Gullan, North Berwick, Aberlady, and places adjacent. The

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number carried over amounted to about sixteen hundred. Those who were driven into the Isle of May, amounting to two hundred, after remaining therein a day or two, regained the Fife coast, and returned to the camp at Perth.

The news of Mackintosh's landing occasioned a dreadful consternation at Edinburgh, where the friends of the government, astonished at the boldness of the enterprise, and the extraordinary success which had attended it, at once conjectured that the brigadier would march directly upon the capital, where he had many friends, and from which he was only sixteen miles distant. As the city was at this time wholly unprovided with the means of defence, Campbell, the provost, a warm partisan of the government, adopted the most active measures for putting it in a defensive state. The well affected among the citizens formed themselves into a body for its defence, under the name of the Associate Volunteers, and these, with the city guards and trained bands, had different posts assigned them, which they guarded with great care and vigilance. Even the ministers of the city, to show an example to the lay citizens, joined the ranks of the armed volunteers. The provost, at same time, sent an express to the Duke of Argyle, requesting him to send, without delay, a detachment of regular troops to support the citizens.

After the brigadier had mustered his men on landing, he marched to Haddington, in which he took up his quarters for the night to refresh his troops, and wait for the remainder of his detachment, which he expected would follow. According to Mackintosh's instructions, he should have marched directly for England, to join the insurgents in Northumberland, but having received intelligence of the consternation which prevailed at Edinburgh, and urged, it is believed, by pressing solici-

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tations from some of the Jacobite inhabitants to advance upon the capital, he, lured by the éclat which its capture would confer upon his arms, and the obvious advantages which would then ensue, marched rapidly towards Edinburgh the following morning. He arrived in the evening of the same day, Friday, fourteenth of October, at Jock's Lodge, about a mile from the city, where, being informed of the measures which had been taken to defend it, and that the Duke of Argyle was hourly expected from Stirling with a reinforcement, he immediately halted, and called a council of war. After a short consultation, they resolved, in the meantime, to take possession of Leith. Mackintosh, accordingly, turning off his men to the right, marched into the town without opposition. He immediately released from jail the forty men who had been taken prisoners by the boats of the men-of-war, and seized a considerable quantity of brandy and provisions, which he found in the custom-house. Thereafter, crossing over the bridge into North Leith, he quartered his men for the night in the citadel which had been built by Oliver Cromwell. This fort, which was of a square form, with four demi-bastions, and surrounded by a large dry ditch, was now in a very dismantled state, though all the outworks, with the exception of the gates, were entire. Within the walls were several houses, built for the convenience of sea-bathing, and which served the new occupants in lieu of barracks. To supply the want of gates, Mackintosh formed barricades of beams, planks, and of carts filled with earth and stone and other materials, and seizing six or eight pieces of cannon which he found in some vessels in the harbour, he planted two of them at the north end of the drawbridge, and the remainder upon the ramparts of the citadel. Within a few hours, therefore, after he had entered Leith, Mackintosh was fully prepared to



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withstand a siege, should the Duke of Argyle venture to attack him.

Whilst Mackintosh was in full march upon the capital from the east, the Duke of Argyle was advancing upon it with greater rapidity from the west, at the head of four hundred dragoons and two hundred foot, mounted, for the sake of greater expedition, upon farmhorses. He entered the city by the west port about ten o'clock at night, and was joined by the horse militia of Lothian and the Merse with a good many volunteers, both horse and foot, who, with the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Lord Belhaven, and others, had retired into Edinburgh on the approach of the insurgents. These, with the addition of the city guard and volunteers, increased his force to nearly twelve hundred men. With this body the duke marched down towards Leith next morning, Saturday, fifteenth of October; but before he reached the town many of the "brave gentlemen volunteers," whose courage had waxed cold while contemplating the probable consequences of encountering in deadly strife the determined band to which they were to be opposed, slunk out of the ranks and retired to their homes. On arriving near the citadel, Argyle posted the dragoons and foot on opposite sides, and, along with Generals Evans and Wightman, proceeded to reconnoitre the fort on the sea side. Thereafter, he sent in a summons to the citadel requiring the rebels to surrender under the pain of high treason, and declaring that if they obliged him to employ cannon to force them, and killed any of his men in resisting him, he would give them no quarter. To this message the laird of Kynnachin, a gentleman of Athole, returned this resolute answer, that as to surrendering they did not understand the word, which could therefore only excite laughter; that if his Grace thought he was able to make an assault, he might try, but he



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would find that they were fully prepared to meet it; and as to quarter they were resolved, in case of attack, neither to take nor to give any.

This answer was followed by a discharge from the cannon on the ramparts, the balls from which grazing among the horses' feet, made Argyle soon perceive the mistake he had committed in advancing without cannon, of which he had not taken down with him a single piece. Had his force been equal and even numerically superior to that of Mackintosh, he could not have ventured, without almost certain destruction, to have carried the citadel sword in hand, as he found that before his men could reach the foot of the wall or the barricaded positions, they would probably have been exposed to five fires from the besieged, which, at a moderate computation, would have cut off one half of his men. His cavalry, besides, on account of the nature of the ground, could have been of little use in an assault; and as, under such circumstances, an attack was considered impracticable, the duke retired to Edinburgh in the evening to make the necessary preparations for a siege. While deliberating on the expediency of making an attack, some of the volunteers appeared to be very zealous for it, but on being informed that it belonged to them as volunteers to lead the way, they became extremely pacific, and heartily approved of the duke's proposal to defer the attempt till a more seasonable opportunity.

Had the Earl of Mar been apprised in due time of Mackintosh's advance upon Edinburgh, and of the Duke of Argyle's departure from Stirling, he would probably have marched towards Stirling, and might have crossed the Forth above the bridge of Stirling, without any very serious opposition from the small force stationed in the neighbourhood; but he received the intelligence of the brigadier's movements too late to make it

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available, had he been inclined; and it appears that he had resolved not to cross the Forth till joined by General Gordon's detachment. The earl considered the march from Haddington to Leith "an unlucky mistake;" but he had really no cause to complain.

On returning to Edinburgh, the Duke of Argyle gave orders for the removal of some pieces of cannon from the castle to Leith, with the intention of making an assault upon the citadel the following morning with the whole of his force, including the dragoons, which he had resolved to dismount for the occasion. But he was saved the necessity of such a hazardous attempt by the insurgents evacuating the place the same night. Old Borlum, seeing no chance of obtaining possession of Edinburgh, and considering that the occupation of the citadel, even if tenable, was not of sufficient importance to employ such a large body of men in its defence, had resolved, shortly after the departure of the duke, to abandon the place, and to retrace his steps without delay, and with all the secrecy in his power. Two hours before his departure, he sent a boat across the Frith with despatches to the Earl of Mar, giving him a detail of his proceedings since his landing, and informing him of his intention to retire. To deceive the men-of-war which lay at anchor in the roads, he caused several shots to be fired at the boat which carried the despatches after her departure from the harbour, which had the desired effect, as the officers in command of the ships, thinking the boat had some friends of the government on board, allowed her to pursue her course without obstruction.

At nine o'clock at night, everything being in readiness, Mackintosh, favoured by the darkness of the night and low water, left the citadel secretly, and pursuing his course along the beach, crossed, without observation, the small rivulet, which runs through the harbour

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at low water, and which was then about knee-deep, and passing the point of the pier, pursued his route southeastward along the sands of Leith. At his departure, Mackintosh was obliged to leave about forty men behind him, who, having made too free with the brandy which had been found in the custom-house, were not in a condition to march. These, with some stragglers who lagged behind, were afterward taken prisoners by a detachment of Argyle's forces, which also captured some baggage and ammunition.

On arriving near Musselburgh, the insurgents were fired upon by some persons on horseback from the adjoining end of the town, but without receiving any injury. This circumstance, as it made the Highlanders look upon every horseman as an enemy, was productive of a melancholy accident, which befel Alexander Malloch of Mutrieshill, who had just joined the rebels. This gentleman, while riding on horseback, was challenged by a Highlander in Gaelic, and being unable to answer him, was instantly shot dead upon the spot by the interrogator. Mackintosh, who could not fail to feel grieved at this unfortunate accident, was in too great haste to spend time in the rites of sepulture, and thinking probably that the money about the person of the deceased was in better keeping with him than with any friend of the government, he appropriated about sixty guineas, which he found in the pockets of the deceased, and left the corpse behind. A similar accident occurred after they had advanced a mile from Musselburgh, where, alarmed by some firing in front, a rear party fired upon the front and killed a sergeant belonging to Mar's regiment, and a common soldier.

The Highlanders continued their march during the night, and arrived at two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the sixteenth of October, at Seaton House, the

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seat of the Earl of Wintoun, who had already joined the Viscount Kenmure, where, during the day, they were joined by a small party of their friends, who had crossed the Frith sometime after the body which marched to Leith had landed, and who, from having disembarked farther to the eastward, had not been able to reach their companions before their departure for the capital. As soon as the Duke of Argyle heard of Mackintosh's retreat, and that he had taken up a position in Seaton House, which was encompassed by a very strong and high stone wall, he resolved to follow him and besiege him in his new quarters. To work some cannon and mortars which he intended to remove from the castle of Edinburgh, he sent an express to Stirling for some gunners and bombardiers, and, in the meantime, despatched a detachment of dragoons and a body of volunteer horse to reconnoitre the enemy and watch their motions. But the Duke of Argyle was prevented from carrying his design against Seaton House into execution, by receiving intelligence that Mar was advancing upon Stirling with the intention of crossing the Forth.

Being apprised, by the receipt of Mackintosh's despatch from Leith, of the brigadier's design to march to the south, Mar had resolved, with the view principally of facilitating his retreat from Leith, to make a movement upon Stirling, and thereby induce the Duke of Argyle to return to the camp in the park with the troops which he had carried to Edinburgh. Mar, accordingly, left Perth on Monday, the seventeenth of October, and General Whitham, the commander of the royalist forces at Stirling in Argyle's absence, having on the previous day received notice of Mar's intention, immediately sent an express to the duke begging him to return to Stirling immediately, and bring back the forces he had taken with him to Edinburgh. The express reached

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Edinburgh at an early hour on Monday morning, and the duke, abandoning his design upon Seaton House, left Edinburgh for Stirling about noon on Monday, leaving behind him only a hundred dragoons and 150 foot under General Wightman. The duke arrived at Stirling about eight o'clock at night, and was informed that Mar was to be at Dunblane next morning with his whole army, amounting to nearly ten thousand men.

The arrival of his Grace was most opportune, for Mar had in fact advanced the same evening, with all his horse, to Dunblane, little more than six miles from Stirling, and his foot were only a short way off from the latter place. Whether Mar would have really attempted the passage of the Forth but for the intelligence he received next morning, is very problematical; but having been informed early on Tuesday of the duke's return, and of the arrival of Evans's regiment of dragoons from Ireland, he resolved to return to Perth. In a letter which he wrote to Mr. Forster from Perth on the twenty-first of October, after alluding to the information he had received, he gives as an additional reason for this determination, that he had left Perth before provisions could be got ready for his army, and that he found all the country about Stirling, where he meant to pass the Forth, so entirely exhausted by the enemy that he could find nothing to subsist upon. Besides, from a letter he had received from General Gordon, he found the latter could not possibly join him that week, and he could not think of passing the Forth, under the circumstances detailed, till joined by him. Under these difficulties, and having accomplished one of the objects of his march, by withdrawing the Duke of Argyle from the pursuit of his friends in Lothian, he had thought fit, he observes, to march back from Dunblane to Auchterarder, and thence back to Perth, there to wait for Gor-



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don and the Earl of Seaforth, where he had accordingly arrived on the preceding night.

Mackintosh, in expectation probably of an answer to his despatch from Leith, appeared to be in no hurry to leave Seaton House, where his men fared sumptuously upon the best which the neighbourhood could afford. As all communication was cut off between him and the capital by the hundred dragoons which Argyle had left behind, and a party of three hundred gentlemen volunteers under the command of the Earl of Rothes, who patrolled in the neighbourhood of Seaton House, Mackintosh was in complete ignorance of Argyle's departure from the capital, and of Mar's march. This was fortunate, as it seems probable that had the brigadier been aware of these circumstances, he would have again advanced upon the capital and might have captured it. During the three days that Mackintosh lay in Seaton House, no attempt was, of course, made to dislodge him from his position, but he was subjected to some petty annoyances by the volunteers and dragoons, between whom and the Highlanders some occasional shots were interchanged without damage on either side. Having deviated from the line of instructions, Mackintosh appears to have been anxious, before proceeding south, to receive from Mar such new or additional directions as a change of circumstances might require. Mar lost no time in replying to Borlum's communication, and on Tuesday, the eighteenth of October, a boat was despatched from Seaton House making its way across the Frith from the Fife coast. This boat had attracted the notice of the commanders of the men-of-war, who rightly suspecting its destination, kept up a fire at her, but by keeping far to windward, she escaped and arrived safe at the small harbour of Port Seaton. This boat, the same that carried over Mackintosh's despatch, brought



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an answer from Mar, desiring him to march immediately towards England and form a junction near the borders with the English Jacobite forces under Mr. Forster, and those of the south of Scotland under Lord Kenmure. On the same day, Mackintosh received a despatch from Mr. Forster, requesting him to meet him without delay at Kelso or Coldstream.

To give effect to these instructions, Mackintosh left Seaton House next morning, and proceeded across the country towards Longformachus, which he reached that night. Doctor Sinclair, the proprietor of Hermandston House, had incurred the brigadier's displeasure by his treatment of the laird of Keith, to revenge which he threatened to burn Sinclair's mansion in passing it on his way south, but he was prevented from carrying his threat into execution by the entreaties of Mr. Miller of Mugdrum, major of his regiment, and Mr. Menzies of Woodend. He, however, ordered his soldiers to plunder the house, a mandate which they obeyed with the utmost alacrity. When Major-General Wightman heard of Mackintosh's departure, he marched from Edinburgh with some dragoons, militia, and volunteers, and took possession of Seaton House. After demolishing the wall which surrounded it, he returned to Edinburgh in the evening, carrying along with him some Highlanders who had lagged behind or deserted from Mackintosh on his march.

Mackintosh took up his quarters at Longformachus during the night, and continued his march next morning to Dunse, where he arrived during the day and proclaimed the Chevalier. Here Mackintosh halted two days, and on the morning of Saturday, the twenty-second of October, set out on his march to Kelso, the appointed place of rendezvous, whither the Northumbrian forces under Forster were marching the same day.

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Sir William Bennet of Grubbet and his friends, hearing of the approach of these two bodies, left the town the preceding night, and, after dismissing their followers, retired to Edinburgh. The united forces of Forster and Kenmure entered Kelso about one o'clock on Saturday. The Highlanders had not then arrived, but hearing that they were not far off, the Scottish cavalry, to mark their respect for the bravery the Highlanders had shown in crossing the Frith, marched out as far as Ednam bridge to meet them, and accompanied them into the town about three o'clock in the afternoon, amidst the martial sounds of bagpipes. The forces under Mackintosh now amounted to fourteen hundred foot and six hundred horse; but a third of the latter consisted of menial servants.

The following day, being Sunday, was entirely devoted by the Jacobites to religious duties. Patten, the historian of the insurrection, an Episcopal minister and one of their chaplains, in terms of instructions from Lord Kenmure, who had the command of the troops while in Scotland, preached in the morning in the Great church of Kelso, formerly the abbey of David the First, to a mixed congregation of Catholics, Presbyterians and Episcopalians, from Deuteronomy xxi. 17, "The right of the first-born is his." The prayers on this occasion were read by Mr. Buxton, formerly alluded to. In the afternoon Mr. William Irvine, an old Scottish Episcopalian minister, chaplain to the Earl of Carnwath, read prayers and delivered a sermon full of exhortations to his hearers to be zealous and steady in the cause of the Chevalier. This discourse, he afterward told his colleague, Mr. Patten, he had formerly preached in the Highlands about twenty-six years before in presence of Lord Viscount Dundee and his army.

Next morning the Highlanders were drawn up in the





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churchyard, and thence marched to the market-cross with colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing. They there formed a circle round the lords and gentlemen. Within this circle another was formed of the gentlemen volunteers. Silence being enjoined, and a trumpet sounded, Seaton of Barnes, who claimed the vacant title of Earl of Dunfermline, read a proclamation, declaring the Chevalier as James VIII, lawful king over Scotland, England, and Ireland. After finishing the proclamation, he read the manifesto quoted in the conclusion of last chapter, at the end of which the people with loud acclamations shouted, "No union! no malt-tax! no salt-tax." When this ceremony was over, the Highlanders returned to their quarters.

The insurgents remained three days in Kelso, which were chiefly occupied in searching for arms and plundering the houses of some of the loyalists in the neighbourhood. They took possession of some pieces of cannon which had been brought by Sir William Bennet from Hume Castle for the defence of the town, and which had formerly been employed to protect that ancient stronghold against the attacks of the English. They also seized some broadswords which they found in the church, and a small quantity of gunpowder. Whilst at Kelso, Mackintosh seized the public revenue, as was his uniform custom in every town through which he passed.

During their stay at Kelso, the insurgents seem to have come to no determination as to future operations; but the arrival of General Carpenter with three regiments of dragoons, and a regiment of foot, at Wooler, forced them to resolve upon something decisive. Lord Kenmure, thereupon, called a council of war to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. According to the opinions of the principal officers, there were three ways of proceeding. The first, which was strongly urged by

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the Earl of Wintoun, was to march into the west of Scotland, to reduce Dumfries and Glasgow, and thereafter to form a junction with the western clans, under General Gordon, to open a communication with the Earl of Mar, and threaten the Duke of Argyle's rear. The second was to give battle immediately to General Carpenter, who had scarcely a thousand men under him, the greater part of whom consisted of newly raised levies, who had never seen any service. This plan was supported by Mackintosh, who was so intent upon it, that, sticking his pike in the ground, he declared that he would not stir, but would wait for General Carpenter and fight him, as he was sure there would be no difficulty in beating him. The last plan, which was that of the Northumberland gentlemen, was to march directly through Cumberland and Westmoreland into Lancashire, where the Jacobite interest was very powerful, and where they expected to be joined by great numbers of the people. Old Borlum was strongly opposed to this view, and pointed out the risk which they would run, if met by an opposing force, which they might calculate upon, while General Carpenter was left in their rear. He contended, that if they succeeded in defeating Carpenter, they would soon be able to fight any other troops; that if Carpenter should beat them, they had already advanced far enough, and that they would be better able, in the event of a reverse, to shift for themselves in Scotland than in England.

Either of the two first-mentioned plans was far preferable to the last, even had the troops been disposed to adopt it; but the aversion of the Highlanders, from different considerations, to a campaign in England, was almost insuperable; and nothing could mark more strongly the fatuity of the Northumberland Jacobites, than to insist, under these circumstances, upon marching



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into England. But they pertinaciously adhered to their opinion, and, by doing so, may be truly said to have ruined the cause which they had combined to support. As the comparatively small body of troops under Argyle was the only force in Scotland from which the insurgents had anything to dread, their whole attention should have been directed in the first place to that body, which could not have withstood the combined attacks of the forces which the rebels had in the field, which amounted to about sixteen thousand men. The Duke of Argyle must have been compelled, had the three divisions of the insurgent army made a simultaneous movement upon Stirling, to have hazarded a battle, and the result would very probably have been disastrous to his arms. Had such an event occurred, the insurgents would have immediately become masters of the whole of Scotland, and would soon have been in a condition to have carried the war into England with every hope of success.

Amidst the confusion and perplexity occasioned by these differences of opinion, a sort of medium course was in the meantime resolved upon, till the chiefs of the army should reconcile their divisions. The plan agreed upon was, that they should, to avoid an immediate rencounter with General Carpenter, decamp from Kelso, and proceed along the border in a southwesterly direction towards Jedburgh; and, accordingly, on Thursday, the twenty-seventh day of October, the insurgents proceeded on their march. The disagreement which had taken place had cooled their military fervour, and a feeling of dread, at the idea of being attacked by Carpenter's force, soon began to display itself. Twice, on the march to Jedburgh, were they thrown into a state of alarm, by mistaking a party of their own men for the troops of General Carpenter. The mistake being soon

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discovered, in the first instance, little disorder ensued; but the last created much confusion, and strikingly exhibited the effects of fear, even upon resolute minds, when labouring under a temporary depression. The horse preceded the foot, and arrived at Jedburgh when the latter were yet distant two miles from the town. A party of the foot, which had been sent up Tweedside, was observed by their main body, when on the high road between Kelso and Jedburgh, crossing a moor on their right, which being again taken for Carpenter's troops, they sent an express to Jedburgh, requiring the support of the horse. Lord Kenmure, Brigadier Mackintosh, and the other principal officers were standing together when this message was delivered; but being uttered very indistinctly by the messenger, a gentleman present conceiving that Lord Lumley, who commanded the light horse of Northumberland, had attacked the Highlanders, instantly mounted his horse and galloped through the streets, shouting aloud, "Mount, gentlemen, mount! Lumley is upon the foot cutting them to pieces!" This announcement produced the utmost consternation among the horse, some of whom, from an apprehension of being made prisoners, tore the cockades from their hats, while others absconded and concealed themselves in the most secret places in the town. The greater part, however, mounted their horses, and went out to join the foot; but so alarmed were many even of these, at the idea of encountering the government forces, that, according to one writer, they wept like children. If this statement be well founded, these men fully redeemed their character by the gallant defence they afterward made at Preston.

Instead of advancing upon Jedburgh, as they supposed Carpenter would have done, the insurgents ascertained that he had taken a different direction in entering

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Scotland, and that from their relative positions, they were considerably in advance of him in the proposed route into England. The English officers thereupon again urged their views in council, and insisted upon them with such earnestness, that Old Borlum was induced, though with great reluctance, and not till after very high words had been exchanged, to yield. Preparatory to crossing the Borders, they despatched one Captain Hunter (who, from following the profession of a horse-stealer on the Borders, was well acquainted with the neighbouring country), across the hills, to provide quarters for the army in North Tyndale; but he had not proceeded far, when an order was sent after him countermanding his march, in consequence of a mutiny among the Highlanders, who refused to march into England. The English horse, after expostulating with them, threatened to surround them and compel them to march; but Mackintosh informed them that he would not allow his men to be so treated, and the Highlanders themselves, despising the threat, gave them to understand that they would resist the attempt.

The determination, on the part of the Highlanders, not to march into England, staggered the English gentlemen; but as they saw no hopes of inducing their northern allies to enter into their views, they consented to waive their resolution in the meantime, and by mutual consent the army left Jedburgh on the twenty-ninth of October for Hawick, a town on the Scottish side of the border, lying about ten miles southwest from Jedburgh. During their stay at the latter place, the Highlanders were provided with a supply of oatmeal, levied upon the inhabitants, according to their respective abilities, under the inspection of the magistrates. While on the march to Hawick, a fresh mutiny

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broke out among the Highlanders, who, suspecting that the march to England was still resolved upon, separated themselves from the rest of the army, and going up to the top of a rising ground on Hawick moor, grounded their arms, declaring, at same time, that although they were determined not to march into England, they were ready to fight the enemy on Scottish ground. Should the chiefs of the army decline to lead them against Carpenter's forces, they proposed, agreeably to the Earl of Wintoun's advice, either to march through the west of Scotland and join the clans under General Gordon, by crossing the Forth above Stirling, or to co-operate with the Earl of Mar, by falling upon the Duke of Argyle's rear, while Mar himself should assail him in front. But the English officers would listen to none of these propositions, and again threatened to surround them with the horse and force them to march. The Highlanders, exasperated at this menace, cocked their pistols, and told their imprudent colleagues that if they were to be made a sacrifice, they would prefer being destroyed in their own country. By the interposition of the Earl of Wintoun a reconciliation was effected, and the insurgents resumed their march to Hawick, on the understanding that the Highlanders should not be again required to march into England.

The insurgents passed the night at Hawick, during which the courage of the Highlanders was put to the test, by the appearance of a party of horse, which was observed patrolling in their front by their advanced posts. On the alarm being given, the Highlanders immediately flew to arms, and forming themselves in very good order by moonlight, waited with firmness the expected attack; but the affair turned out a false alarm, purposely got up, it is believed, by the English commanders, to try how the Highlanders would conduct themselves,

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should an enemy appear. At Hawick a quantity of cockades, consisting of blue and white ribbons, was made for the Scotch, to distinguish them from the English insurgents, who wore red and white cockades. Next morning, being Sunday, the thirtieth of October, the rebels marched from Hawick to Langholm, about which time General Carpenter entered Jedburgh. They arrived at Langholm in the evening, and with the view, it is supposed, of attacking Dumfries, they sent forward to Ecclefechan, during the night, a detachment of four hundred horse, under the Earl of Carnwath, for the purpose of blocking up Dumfries till the foot should come up. This detachment arrived at Ecclefechan before daylight, and, after a short halt, proceeded in the direction of Dumfries; but they had not advanced far, when they were met by an express from some of their friends at Dumfries, informing them that great preparations had been made for the defence of the town. The Earl of Carnwath immediately forwarded the express to Langholm, and, in the meantime, halted his men on Blacket ridge, a moor in the neighbourhood of Ecclefechan, till further orders. The express was met by the main body of the army about two miles west from Langholm, on its march to Dumfries.

The intelligence, thus conveyed, immediately created another schism in the army. The English, who had been prevailed upon, from the advantages held out to the Jacobite cause by the capture of such an important post as Dumfries, to accede to the proposal for attacking it, now resumed their original intention of marching into England. The Highlanders, on the other hand, insisted upon marching instantly upon Dumfries, which they alleged might be easily taken, as there were no regular forces in it. It was in vain that the advocates of this plan urged upon the English the advantages



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to be derived from the possession of a place so convenient as Dumfries was, for receiving succours from France and Ireland, and for keeping up a communication with England and their friends in the west of Scotland. It was to no purpose they were assured that there were a great many arms and a good supply of powder in the town, which they might secure, and that the Duke of Argyle, whom they appeared to dread, was in no condition to injure them, as he had scarcely two thousand men under him, and was in daily expectation of being attacked by the Earl of Mar, whose forces were then thrice as numerous. These and similar arguments were entirely thrown away upon men who had already determined at all hazards to adhere to their resolution of carrying the war into England. To induce the Scottish commanders to concur in their views, they pretended that they had received letters from their friends in Lancashire inviting them thither, and assuring them that on their arrival a general insurrection would take place, and that they would be immediately joined by twenty thousand men, and would have money and provisions in abundance. The advantages of a speedy march into England being urged with extreme earnestness by the English officers, all their Scottish associates, with the exception of the Earl of Wintoun, at last consented to try the chances of war on the soil of England. Even Old Borlum (who, at the time the parties were discussing the point in dispute, was busily engaged at a distance from the place where the main body had halted, restraining a party of the Highlanders from deserting) yielded to the entreaties of the English officers, and exerted all his influence to induce his men to follow his example. By the aid of great promises and money, the greater part of the Highlanders were prevailed upon to follow the



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fortunes of their commander, but about five hundred of them marched off in a body to the north. Before they reached Clydesdale, however, they were almost all made prisoners by the country people, and lodged in jail. The Earl of Wintoun, who was quite opposed to the measures resolved upon, also went off with his adherents, but being overtaken by a messenger who was despatched after him to remonstrate with him for abandoning his friends, he consented to return, and immediately rejoined the army. When overtaken, he drew up his horse, and, after a momentary pause, as if reflecting on the judgment which posterity would form of his conduct, observed with chivalrous feeling, that history should not have to relate of him that he deserted King James's interest or his country's good, but with a deep presentiment of the danger of the course his associates were about to pursue, he added, "You," addressing the messenger, "or any man, shall have liberty to cut these " (laying hold of his own ears as he spoke) "out of my head, if we do not all repent it."

The insurgents, after spiking two pieces of cannon which they had brought from Kelso, immediately proceeded on their march for England, and entered Longtown in Cumberland the same night, where they were joined by the detachment which had been sent to Ecclefechan the previous night. On the following day, first of November, they marched to Brampton, a small market town in Cumberland, where they proclaimed the Chevalier, and levied the excise duties on malt and ale. Mr. Forster now opened a commission which he had lately received from the Earl of Mar, appointing him general to the Jacobite forces in England. As the men were greatly fatigued by forced marches, having marched about one hundred miles in five successive days,

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they took up their quarters at Brampton for the night to refresh themselves. When General Carpenter heard that the insurgents had entered England, he left Jedburgh, and, recrossing the hills into Northumberland, threw himself between them and Newcastle, the seizure of which, he erroneously supposed, was the object of their movement.

Next day the insurgents marched toward Penrith, on approaching which they received intelligence that the *posse comitatus* of Cumberland, amounting to nearly fourteen thousand men, headed by the sheriff of the county, and attended by Lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle, had assembled near Penrith on the line of their march to oppose their advance. Mr., now General Forster, sent forward a party to reconnoitre, but he experienced no trouble from this immense rustic force, which broke up and dispersed in the utmost confusion on hearing of the approach of the reconnoitring party. Patten, the historian of the rebellion, who had formerly been curate of Penrith, attempted, at the head of a party of horse, to intercept his superior, the bishop of Carlisle, but his lordship escaped. The insurgents captured some horses and a large quantity of arms, and also took several prisoners, who being soon released, expressed their gratitude by shouting, "God save King James and prosper his merciful army." To impress the inhabitants of Penrith with a favourable idea of their strength and discipline, the insurgents halted upon a moor in the neighbourhood, where they formed themselves in order of battle, and thereafter entered the town in regular marching order. The principal inhabitants, from an apprehension of being plundered, showed great attention to them, in return for which, and the comfortable entertainment which they received, they abstained from doing any act which could give offence. They

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however raised, according to custom, the excise and other public duties.

Next day the insurgents marched to Appleby, where, as at Penrith, they proclaimed the Chevalier and seized the public revenue. After halting two days at this town, they resumed their march on the fifth of November, and arrived at Kendal, where they took up their quarters for the night. Next morning, being Sunday, they decamped from Kendal, and after a short march reached Kirby Lonsdale, where, after proclaiming the Chevalier, they went to the church in the afternoon, where, in absence of the parson, who had absconded, Mr. Patten read prayers. This author relates a singular instance of Jacobite zeal on the part of a gentleman of the name of Guin, or Gwyn, who entered the churches which lay in the route of the army and scratching out the name of King George from the prayer books, substituted that of the Chevalier in its stead, in a manner so closely resembling the print that the alteration could scarcely be perceived.

The insurgents had now marched through two populous counties, but they had obtained the accession of only two gentlemen to their ranks. They would probably have received some additions in Cumberland and Westmoreland, had not precautions been taken by the sheriffs of these counties beforehand to secure the principal Catholics and lodge them in the castle of Carlisle. Despairing of obtaining any considerable accession of force, seventeen gentlemen of Teviotdale had left the army at Appleby, and the Highlanders, who had borne the fatigues of the march with great fortitude, now began to manifest signs of impatience at the disappointment they felt in not being joined by large bodies of men as they were led to expect. Their prospects, however, began to brighten by the arrival

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of some Lancashire Catholic gentlemen and their servants at Kirby Lonsdale, and by the receipt of intelligence the following day, when on their march to Lancaster, that the Jacobites of Lancashire were ready to join them, and that the Chevalier had been proclaimed at Manchester. The Highlanders expressed their joy at this intelligence by giving three cheers.

The insurgents entered Lancaster without opposition, and instantly marched to the market-place, and proclaimed the Chevalier by sound of trumpet, the whole body being drawn up round the cross. After remaining two days at Lancaster, where the Highlanders regaled themselves with claret and brandy found in the custom-house, they took the road to Preston on Wednesday, the ninth of November, with the intention of possessing themselves of Warrington bridge and securing Manchester, as preliminary to a descent upon Liverpool. The horse reached Preston at night, two troops of Stanhope's dragoons and part of a militia regiment under Sir Henry Houghton, which were quartered in the town, retiring to Wigan on their approach; but owing to the badness of the road from a heavy rain which had fallen during the day, the foot did not arrive till the following day, when the Chevalier was proclaimed at the cross with the usual formalities. On the march from Lancaster to Preston, and after their arrival there, the insurgents were joined by different parties of gentlemen, chiefly Catholics, with their tenants and servants, to the number of about fifteen hundred in all, by which additions Forster's army was increased to nearly four thousand men.

Forster, who had kept a strict watch upon Carpenter, and of whose movements he received regular accounts daily, was, however, utterly ignorant of the proceedings of a more formidable antagonist, who, he was made to

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understand by his Lancashire friends, was at too great a distance to prove dangerous. This was General Wills, who had the command in Cheshire, and who was now busily employed in concentrating his forces for the purpose of attacking the rebels. Unfortunately for them, the government had been induced, by the tumults and violences of the high-church party in the west of England during the preceding year, to quarter bodies of troops to keep the disaffected districts in check, which being disposed at Shrewsbury, Chester, Birmingham, Stafford, Wolverhampton, Manchester, and other adjacent places, could be easily assembled together on a short notice. On information being communicated to the government of the invasion of England, General Wills had been directed to collect all the forces he could and to march upon Warrington bridge and Preston, to prevent the advance of the insurgents upon Manchester.

General Wills had, accordingly, made great exertions to fulfil, without delay, the instructions he had received, and hearing that General Carpenter was at Durham, had sent an express to him to march westward; but he was unable to save Preston. When the insurgents entered this town Wills was at Manchester, waiting for the arrival of two regiments of foot and a regiment of dragoons which were within a few days' march of him; but alarmed lest by delaying his march they might make themselves masters of Warrington bridge and Manchester, by the possession of which they would increase their force and secure many other advantages, he resolved instantly to march upon Preston with such troops as he had. He left Manchester accordingly on Friday, the eleventh of November, for Wigan, with four regiments of dragoons, one of horse, and Preston's regiment of foot, formerly known as



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the Cameronian regiment. He arrived at Wigan in the evening, where he met Stanhope's dragoons and Houghton's militia, who had retired from Preston on the evening of the ninth. In the meantime, the inhabitants of Liverpool, anticipating a visit from the insurgents, were actively employed in preparations for its defence. Within three days they threw up a breastwork round that part of the town approachable from the land side, on which they mounted seventy pieces of cannon, and, to prevent the ships in the harbour from falling into the hands of the enemy, they anchored them in the offing.

It was the intention of Forster to have left Preston on the morning of Saturday, the twelfth; but the unexpected arrival of Wills at Wigan, of which he received intelligence on the preceding night, made him alter his design. Forster had been so elated by the addition which his forces had received at Preston, that he affected to believe that Wills would never venture to face him; but old Mackintosh advised him not to be too confident, as they might soon find it necessary to defend themselves. Forster treated this advice very lightly, but Mackintosh added, "No matter, I tell you, man, he" (Wills) "will attack, and beat us all, if we do not look about us." Thereupon, observing from a window where they stood, a party of the new recruits passing by, the veteran warrior thus contemptuously addressed the inexperienced chief, "Look ye there, Forster, are yon fellows the men ye intend to fight Wills with? Good faith, sir, an' ye had ten thousand of them, I'd fight them all with a thousand of his dragoons." In fact, a more uncouth and unsoldier-like body had never before appeared in the field, than these Lancashire rustics; some with rusty swords without muskets, others with muskets without swords, some with fowling-pieces,



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others with pitch-forks, while others were wholly unprovided with weapons of any sort. Forster now altered his tone; and if the report of a writer, who says he was an eye-witness, be true, the news of Wills's advance quite unnerved him. Undetermined how to act, he sent the letter conveying the intelligence to Lord Kenmure, and retired to rest. His lordship, with a few of his officers, repaired to Forster's lodgings to consult him, and to their surprise found him in bed, though the night was not far advanced. The council, after some deliberation, resolved to send out a party of horse toward Wigan, to watch the motions of the enemy, to secure the pass into the town by Ribble bridge, and to prepare the army for battle.

About daybreak of the twelfth, General Wills commenced his march from Wigan in the following order: The van consisted of Preston's regiment of foot, and was preceded by an advanced guard of fifty musketeers, and fifty dragoons on foot. The dragoon regiments of Honeywood, Dormer, and Munden followed in succession. The baggage was placed in the rear under the protection of a party of fifty dragoons. As soon as it was known that Wills was advancing upon Preston, a select body of one hundred well-armed Highlanders, under the command of Farquharson of Invercauld, was posted at Ribble bridge, and Forster himself, at the head of a party of horse, crossed the bridge, and advanced to reconnoitre.

The approach to Ribble bridge, which is about half a mile from Preston, is by a deep path between two high banks, and so narrow in some places that scarcely two men can ride abreast. Here it was that Cromwell, in an action with the royalists, was nearly killed by a large fragment of rock thrown from above, and only escaped by forcing his horse into a quicksand. The

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possession, therefore, of this pass, was of the utmost importance to the insurgents, as Wills was not in a condition to have forced it, being wholly unprovided with cannon. Nor could he have been more successful in any attempt to pass the river, which was fordable only at a considerable distance above and below the bridge, and might have been rendered impassable in different ways. But the Jacobite general was grossly ignorant of everything appertaining to the art of war, and in an evil hour ordered the party at the bridge to abandon it, and retire into the town.

General Wills arrived opposite Ribble bridge about one o'clock in the afternoon, and was surprised to find it undefended. Suspecting an ambuscade, he advanced through the way leading to the bridge with great caution, and having cleared the bridge, he marched toward the town. He, at first, supposed that the insurgents had abandoned the town with the intention of returning to Scotland; but he soon ascertained that they still maintained their ground, and were resolved to meet him. Halting, therefore, his men upon a small rising ground near the town, he rode forward with a strong party of horse to take a survey of the position of the insurgents.

During the morning they had been busily employed in raising barricades in the principal streets, and making other preparations for a vigorous defence. The Earl of Derwentwater displayed extraordinary activity and zeal on this occasion. He distributed money among the troops, exhorted them to stand firm to their posts, and set them an example by throwing off his coat, and assisting them in raising intrenchments. There were four main barriers erected across the leading streets near the centre of the town, at each of which, with one exception, were planted two pieces of cannon, which

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had been carried by the insurgents from Lancaster, and beyond these barriers, toward the extremities of the town, others were raised of an inferior description. Behind the barricades bodies of men were posted, as well as in the houses outside the barricades, particularly in those which commanded the entrances into the principal streets. The recent instances of Paris and Brussels have demonstrated how successfully even an unfortified town may be defended against the assaults of an army, and certainly after the abandonment of Ribble bridge, a more judicious plan of defence could not have been devised by the ablest tactician for meeting the coming exigency; but unfortunately for the insurgents, the future conduct of their leaders did not correspond with these skilful dispositions.

One of the main barriers, of which Brigadier Mackintosh had the command, was a little below the church, the task of supporting whom was devolved upon the gentlemen volunteers, who were drawn up in the churchyard under the command of Viscount Kenmure and the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Wintoun. A body of Highlanders, under Lord Charles Murray, third son of the Duke of Athole, was posted at another barrier at the end of a lane leading to the fields. Colonel Mackintosh, at the head of the Mackintoshes, was posted at a third barricade called the Windmill barrier, from its adjoining such a structure on the road to Lancaster. At the remaining barrier, which was in the street leading to the Liverpool road, were placed some of the gentlemen volunteers, and a part of the Earl of Strathmore's regiment under the command of Major Miller and Mr. Douglas.

When the government general had made himself acquainted with the plan of defence adopted by the insurgents, he turned to his main body, and made

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preparations for an immediate attack. As he had not sufficient forces to make a simultaneous assault upon all the barriers, he resolved to confine himself at first to two only, those commanded by Old Borlum and Colonel Mackintosh, in the streets leading to Wigan and Lancaster respectively, at both ends of the town. For this purpose he divided his troops into three bodies; the first consisted of Preston's regiment of foot, and 250 dismounted dragoons taken in equal proportions from the five dragoon regiments. This division was commanded by Brigadier Honeywood, and was supported by his own regiment of dragoons. The second body consisted of the regiments of Wynn and Dormer, and a squadron of Stanhope's regiment, all of which were dismounted; the last division, consisting of Pitt's horse and the remainder of Stanhope's regiment, was kept as a reserve for supporting the other divisions as occasion should require, and to prevent the insurgents from escaping over the Ribble.

The action was begun by the division of Honeywood, which, after driving a party of the insurgents from a small barricade at the extremity of one of the leading streets, entered the town, and attacked the barrier near the church, defended by Brigadier Mackintosh; but Honeywood's men were unable to make any impression, and after sustaining a galling and destructive fire from the barrier and from the houses on both sides of the street, they were forced to retreat from the street with considerable loss. In this affair Brigadier Honeywood received a contusion in his arm. Some of the officers of Preston's regiment being informed, whilst engaged in the street, that the street leading to Wigan was not barricaded, and that the houses on that side were not possessed by the insurgents, Lord Forrester, the lieutenant-colonel, resolved, after Honeywood's

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division had failed to establish itself in the neighbourhood of the church, to attempt an entrance in that direction. He accordingly drew off his men by a narrow back passage or lane which led into the street in the direction of Wigan, and ordering them to halt till he should personally survey the position of the insurgents, this intrepid officer deliberately rode into the street with his drawn sword in his hand, and, amidst a shower of bullets, coolly examined the barrier, and returned to his troops. He then sallied into the street at the head of his men, and whilst with one party he attacked the barrier, another under his direction crossed the street, and took possession of a very high house belonging to Sir Henry Houghton, which overlooked the whole town. In this enterprise many of the assailants fell by the fire of the insurgents who were posted in the adjoining houses. At the same time, Forrester's men possessed themselves of another house opposite, which was unoccupied by the insurgents. The possession of these houses was of immense advantage to the government troops, as it was from the firing kept up from them that the insurgents chiefly suffered. A party of fifty Highlanders, under Captain Innes, had been posted in Houghton's house, and another body in the opposite one; but Brigadier Mackintosh had unfortunately withdrawn both parties contrary to their own wishes, to less important stations.

Forrester's men maintained the struggle with great bravery, but were unsuccessful in every attempt to force the barrier. As the insurgents, from their position in the houses and behind the barricade, were enabled to take deliberate aim, many of their shots took deadly effect and the gallant Lord Forrester received several wounds; but although Preston's foot kept up a smart fire, they did little execution among the in-



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surrgents, who were protected by the barricade and the houses. Captain Peter Farquharson was the only Jacobite officer who fell in this attack. He received a shot in the leg, and being taken to the White Bull inn, where the wounded were carried, he called for a glass of brandy, and thus addressed his comrades: "Come, lads, here is our master's health; though I can do no more, I wish you good success." Amputation being deemed necessary, this brave man expired, almost immediately, from the unskilfulness of the operator.

Whilst this struggle was going on near the church, a contest equally warm was raging in another quarter of the town between Dormer's division and the party under Lord Charles Murray. In approaching the barrier commanded by this young nobleman, Dormer's men were exposed to a well-directed and murderous fire from the houses, yet, though newly raised troops, they stood firm, and reached the barricade, from which, however, they were vigorously repulsed. Lord Charles Murray conducted himself with great bravery in repelling this attack, and anticipating a second attempt upon the barrier, he applied for and obtained a reinforcement of fifty gentlemen volunteers from the churchyard. Dormer's troops returned to the assault, but although they displayed great courage and resolution, they were again beaten back with loss. An attack made on the Windmill barricade, which was defended by Colonel Mackintosh, met with a similar fate.

Thus repulsed in all their attacks, and as in their approaches to the barriers the government troops had been incessantly exposed to a regular and well-directed fire from the houses, General Wills issued orders to set the houses at both ends of the town on fire, for the purpose of dislodging the insurgents from such annoying positions, and cooping them up in the centre of the town.



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Many houses and barns were in consequence consumed; and almost the entire range of houses as far as Lord Charles Murray's barrier was burnt. As the assailants advanced under cover of the smoke of the conflagration, many of the insurgents, in attempting to escape from the flames, were cut down on the spot. The rebels in their turn attempted to dislodge the government troops from the houses of which they had obtained possession, by setting them on fire. Fortunately there was no wind at the time, otherwise the whole town would have been reduced to ashes.

Night came on, yet an irregular platooning was, notwithstanding, kept up till next day by both parties. To distinguish the houses possessed by the government forces, General Wills ordered them to be illuminated, a circumstance which gave the besieged a decided advantage, as the light from the windows enabled them to direct their fire with better effect. Wills soon perceived the error he had committed, and sent persons round to order the lights to be extinguished, which order being promulgated aloud in the streets, was so strangely misunderstood by those within, that, to the amusement of both parties, they set up additional lights. During the night a considerable number of the insurgents left the town.

Before daybreak, General Wills visited the different posts, and gave directions for opening a communication between both divisions of the army to support each other, should necessity require. During the morning, which was that of Sunday, the thirteenth day of November, he was occupied in making arrangements for renewing the attack. Meantime General Carpenter arrived about ten o'clock with Churchill's and Molesworth's dragoons, accompanied by the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lumley, and others. This event was as exhil-

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arating to the Royalists, as it was disheartening to the besieged, who, notwithstanding the defection of their more timorous associates during the preceding night, were, before the accession of Carpenter, fully a match for their assailants. Wills, after explaining to Carpenter the state of matters, and the dispositions he had made, offered to resign the command to him, as his superior officer, but being satisfied with Wills's conduct, Carpenter declined to accept it, remarking, that as he had begun the affair so well, he ought to have the glory of finishing it. On examining matters himself, however, Carpenter found that the town was not sufficiently invested, particularly at the end of Fishergate Street, which led to a meadow by which the insurgents could easily have escaped. He therefore posted Pitt's horse along the meadow, and lest the whole body of the besieged should attempt to force a retreat that way, he caused a communication to be opened through the enclosures on that side, that the other divisions of the army might the more readily hasten thither to intercept them.

Thus invested on all sides, and pent up within a narrow compass by the gradual encroachments of the Royalists, the Jacobite general grew alarmed, and began to think of a surrender. The Highlanders were fully aware of their critical situation, but the idea of surrendering had never once entered their minds, and they had been restrained only by the most urgent entreaties, from sallying out upon the Royalists, and cutting their way through their ranks, or dying, as they remarked, like men of honour, with their swords in their hands. Neither Forster nor any other officer durst, therefore, venture to make such a proposal to them, and Patten asserts, that had they known that Colonel Oxburgh had been sent on the mission he undertook, he would have never seen Tyburn, but would have been shot by common

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consent before he had passed the barrier. This gentleman, who had great influence over Forster (and who, in the opinion of the last named author, was better calculated, from the strictness with which he performed his religious duties, to be a priest than a field officer), in conjunction with Lord Widdrington and others, prevailed upon him to make an offer of capitulation, thinking that they would obtain favourable terms from the government general. This resolution was adopted without the knowledge of the rest of the officers, and Oxburgh, who had volunteered to negotiate, went off about two o'clock in the afternoon to Wills's headquarters. To prevent suspicion of his real errand, the soldiers were informed that General Wills had sent to offer them honourable terms, if they would lay down their arms.

The reception of Oxburgh by General Wills was very different from what he and his friends had anticipated. Wills, in fact, absolutely refused to hear of any terms, and upon Oxburgh making an offer that the insurgents should lay down their arms, provided he would recommend them to the mercy of the king, he informed him that he would not treat with rebels, who had killed several of his Majesty's subjects, and who consequently must expect to undergo the same fate. The colonel, thereupon, with great earnestness, begged the general, as an officer and a man of honour, to show mercy to people who were willing to submit. The Royalist commander, somewhat softened, replied, that all he would promise was, that if the insurgents would lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them to pieces till further orders; and that he would allow them an hour for the consideration of his offer. The result of this interview was immediately reported

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by Oxburgh to his friends, but nothing had transpired to throw any light upon their deliberations. Before the hour had elapsed, Mr. Dalzell, brother to the Earl of Carnwath, appeared at Wills's headquarters, and requested to know what terms he would grant separately to the Scots; Wills answered that he would not treat with rebels, nor grant any other terms than those already offered.

To bring matters to an immediate issue, General Wills sent Colonel Cotton into the town about three o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by a dragoon, and a drummer beating a chamade. Cotton alighted at the sign of the mitre, where the principal insurgent officers were assembled, and required an immediate answer to Wills's proposal. He was told, however, that differences existed between the English and Scottish officers upon the subject, but they requested that the general would allow them till seven o'clock next morning to settle their differences, and to consult upon the best method of delivering themselves up. This proposal being reported to Wills, he agreed to grant the Jacobite commanders the time required, provided they would bind themselves to throw up no new entrenchments in the streets, nor allow any of their men to escape; for the performance of which stipulations he required the delivery of approved hostages. Cotton having returned to the town, the Earl of Derwentwater and Brigadier Mackintosh were pitched upon as hostages for the observance of these stipulations, and sent to the Royalist headquarters.

As soon as the Highlanders perceived that a capitulation was resolved upon, their fury knew no bounds. They declared that sooner than surrender, they would die fighting, and that when they could no longer defend their posts, they would attempt to cut their way through

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their assailants, and make a retreat. During the night they paraded the streets, threatening destruction to every person who should even allude to a surrender. During these disturbances, several persons were killed, and many wounded, and Mr. Forster, who was openly denounced as the originator of the capitulation, would certainly have been cut to pieces by the infuriated soldiers, had he appeared in the streets. He made a narrow escape even in his own chamber, a gentleman of the name of Murray having fired a pistol at him, the ball from which would have taken effect had not Mr. Patten, the Jacobite chaplain, struck up the pistol with his hand, and thus diverted the course of the bullet, which penetrated the wainscot in the wall of the room.

At seven o'clock next morning, Forster notified General Wills that the insurgents were willing to surrender at discretion as he had required. Old Borlum, being present when this message was delivered, observed that he would not be answerable for the Scots surrendering without terms, as they were people of desperate fortunes; and that he who had been a soldier himself, knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion. "Go back to your people again," answered Wills, "and I will attack the town, and the consequence will be I will not spare one man of you." After this challenge, Mackintosh could not with a good grace remain, and returned to his friends; but he came back immediately, and informed Wills that Lord Kenmure and the rest of the Scots noblemen, as well as his brother, would surrender on the same conditions as the English.

Colonel Cotton was thereupon despatched with a detachment of two hundred men to take possession of the town, and the rest of the government forces thereafter entered it in two grand divisions, amid the sound of trumpets and beating of drums, and met in the market

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place, where the Highlanders were drawn up under arms ready to surrender. The number of prisoners taken on this occasion was 1,468, of whom about 463 were English, including seventy-five noblemen and gentlemen; the Scots amounted to 1,005, of whom 143 were gentlemen and noblemen. The noblemen and gentlemen were placed under guards in the inns of the town, and the privates were confined in the church. On the part of the insurgents there were only seventeen killed and twenty-five wounded in the different attacks, but the loss on the part of the Royalists was very considerable, amounting, it is believed, to five times the number of the former. From the small number of prisoners taken, it would appear that few of the country people who had joined the insurgents when they entered Lancashire had remained in Preston. They probably left the town during the nights of Saturday and Sunday.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE CHEVALIER IN SCOTLAND

HAVING, for the sake of continuity, brought the narrative of the English branch of the insurrection to a close, in the preceding chapter, we now proceed to detail the operations of the Royalist and Jacobite armies under Argyle and Mar respectively, and the other transactions in the north which preceded its total suppression.

When the Jacobite general took the field he was so unprovided with money, that after Colonel Hay entered Perth he could spare him only fifty guineas for the use of his detachment, and so exhausted had his little treasury become shortly after he took up his quarters there, that he was reduced to the necessity of laying the surrounding country, and the shires of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan under contribution. By an order dated from the camp at Perth, on the fourth of October, he commanded and required every landed proprietor, feuar, landed mortgagee, and all life-renters attending the standard of the Chevalier, to proportion and raise amongst their tenants and possessors the sum of twenty shillings sterling on every hundred pounds Scots of valued rent, and he ordered such landed proprietors as did not immediately or before the twelfth of October attend his standard, to proportion and raise an assessment of double that amount. This order appears to have had little effect, as it was renewed on the twenty-

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first of October, when it was rigorously enforced, and the penalty of military execution threatened against those who should refuse to implement it.

To compel compliance, parties of horse and foot were despatched through the adjoining country. One of these, consisting of two hundred foot and one hundred horse, being sent towards the town of Dunfermline, information of their march was brought to the Duke of Argyle on Sunday, the twenty-third of October. His Grace immediately despatched Colonel Cathcart with a detachment of dragoons to intercept them, who, receiving intelligence that the insurgents had passed Castle Campbell, and had taken up their quarters for the night in a village on the road to Dunfermline, continued his march during the whole night, and coming upon the village unperceived at five o'clock in the morning, surprised the party, some of whom were taken while in bed. Among these were eleven gentlemen, including Gordon of Craig, Gordon of the Mill of Kincardine, Gordon younger of Aberlour, Hamilton of Gibstoun in Stirlingshire, Mr. Murray, brother to the laird of Abercairney, and Mr. Hay, son of Hay of Parbroath.

After this affair, and for want of more stirring excitements, a sort of paper war was carried on between the two generals, which, if attended with little practical effect on either side, served at least to keep up in a more marked manner the distinction between the adherents of the government and the partisans of the Jacobite interest. When informed of the Earl of Mar's order for an assessment, the Duke of Argyle issued a counter one, on the twenty-fifth of October, prohibiting and discharging all persons from giving or furnishing the insurgents with money or provisions, under the pains of high treason, and for greater publicity he directed the same to

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be intimated at each parish church door after divine service, and before the dismissal of the congregation. This mandate was followed two days thereafter by another from the duke, requiring all well-affected noblemen, gentlemen, justices of the peace, magistrates, and ministers, "to persuade and encourage all able-bodied and well-affected men," in their respective parishes, in town and country, to enlist in the regular army, and promising a bounty of forty shillings sterling in hand, and a discharge from the service if required at the end of three months after the suppression of the insurrection. This order was answered by a proclamation from the Earl of Mar, dated first November, prohibiting and discharging all persons whatever, under the highest penalties, from giving obedience to it; and whereas, he had promised his protection, as he observes, to all ministers who behaved themselves dutifully, and did not acknowledge "the Elector of Brunswick as king, by praying for him as such in their churches and congregations," yet as several of them continued the practice, and might thus "involve and mislead innocent and ignorant people, into traitorous and seditious practices," he expressly prohibited "all ministers, as well in churches as in meeting houses, to acknowledge the Elector of Brunswick as king, and that upon their highest peril." And he ordered all officers, civil and military, to shut up the church doors of such ministers as should act in contempt of the order, to apprehend their persons and bring them prisoners to his camp. Many ministers, to avoid compliance with this order, absented themselves from their charges, but others who ventured openly to brave it were apprehended and treated with severity. Mar, however, found a more pliant body in the non-jurant Episcopal clergy, some of whom attached themselves to his camp, and harangued his troops

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from time to time on the duties they owed to their lawful sovereign, "King James the Eighth."

Although the earl seems to have calculated greatly upon the assistance of France, yet his stay at Perth appears to have been prolonged rather by the tardiness of the Earl of Seaforth, in reaching the insurgent camp, than by any intention of waiting for supplies from France, or the expected invasion of England by the Duke of Ormond; for no sooner did Seaforth arrive with the northern clans, about the beginning of November, than Mar began to concert measures with his officers for opening the campaign. The march of the Earl of Seaforth had been retarded by the Earl of Sutherland, at the head of a considerable number of his own men, and of the Mackays, Rosses, Monroes, and others, but having compelled them to disperse, he proceeded on his march with about three thousand foot and eight hundred horse, leaving a sufficient force behind to protect his own country, and keep the Royalist clans in check.

Hitherto the Jacobite commander, from the procrastinating system he had pursued, and from jealousies which had arisen in his camp among his officers, had experienced considerable difficulty in keeping his forces together. Of all men, the Highlanders were the most unlikely to relish the inactive duties of a camp, and as the duration of their services lay entirely with themselves, it was evident that the longer Mar delayed bringing them into action, the risk of their abandoning him was proportionably increased. It was not therefore without reason that one of the leaders remarked that he was afraid the Highlanders would desert their colours in three cases. 1. If they were long without being brought to action, they would tire and go home. 2. If they fought and were victorious, they would

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plunder and go home. 3. If they fought and were beaten, they would run away and go home.

To counteract the injurious effect which a state of inaction might produce upon the minds of his men, Mar buoyed up their hopes by issuing from time to time, by means of a printing-press brought from Aberdeen, and superintended by Freebairn of Edinburgh, a variety of fabricated accounts, highly favourable to their cause, respecting the progress of the rebellion in the south, and the great exertions making by the Chevalier's friends in France, all of which were swallowed with the utmost credulity by his unsuspecting adherents.

About the time the Earl of Scaforth arrived at Perth, General Gordon had advanced as far as Castle Drummond with the western clans on his way to Perth; and as Mar had now resolved to attempt the passage of the Forth, he despatched an express to Gordon, to join him on his march. At a council of war, which was held on the ninth of November, the Jacobite chiefs came to the determination of leaving Perth the following day for Dunblane. On obtaining possession of this town, Mar's design was to detach three different bodies, of a thousand men each, to Stirling bridge, and the two adjacent fords above, for the purpose of amusing Argyle, while he himself with the main body of his army, consisting of nearly eight thousand men, should attempt to cross the river at a ford a little way above those selected for the intended ruse. In the event of success, the three detached bodies were to be directed to form a junction and follow the main body without delay, but in case the Duke of Argyle abandoned Stirling to oppose the passage of the main body, they were to enter the town and fall upon his rear.

Accordingly, on the morning of Thursday, the tenth of November, Mar departed from Perth, leaving a garri-



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son behind under Colonel Balfour, besides a scattered force of about three thousand men quartered in different parts of Fife. The earl, not calculating upon a return to Perth, took all his baggage along with him and provisions sufficient to support his army for twelve days. The insurgents took up their quarters for the night at Auchterarder, where they were reviewed by the earl, and on the following day were joined by the western clans under General Gordon. The army rested the whole of the eleventh. On the morning of the twelfth, Mar ordered General Gordon to march forward with three thousand of the clans, and eight squadrons of horse under Brigadier Ogilvy, and the master of Sinclair, and take possession of Dunblane. After ordering the rest of the army to parade on the muir of Tullibardine, he departed for Drummond castle to hold an interview with the Earl of Breadalbane, having previously directed General Hamilton to follow Gordon with the main body.

As early as the morning of Thursday, the tenth of November, the Duke of Argyle had received intelligence from some of his spies at Perth, of Mar's intended march, and of his plan for effecting the passage of the Forth. Fortunately for Argyle, his little army had been lately almost doubled by reinforcements from Ireland, and it now amounted to twenty-three hundred foot, and twelve hundred cavalry, all in the best order and condition, but though formidable from its composition when united, it was too weak to divide into detachments for resisting at different points the passage of an army thrice as numerous, in an attempt to cross the Forth. As Argyle, therefore, saw he could no longer retain his position on the banks of the river, which, from its now beginning to freeze, would soon be rendered more passable than before, he determined to cross the river and offer the insurgents battle before they should reach its northern



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bank. Though he exposed himself by this bold step to the disadvantage of fighting with a river in his rear, he considered that the risk would be sufficiently counterbalanced by the advantage which his cavalry would have by engaging the enemy on level ground.

Having called in several small detachments which were quartered at Glasgow, Kilsyth, and Falkirk, Argyle crossed Stirling bridge on the morning of the twelfth of November, for Dunblane, much about the same time that Mar's forces had begun to advance upon that town in an opposite direction from Auchterarder. In a short time after their setting out, Argyle's advanced guard took possession of Dunblane, of which circumstance General Gordon was apprised on his march. Having halted his division, Gordon sent an express, announcing the intelligence to General Hamilton, who despatched it to the Earl of Mar, and in a short time he forwarded a second express confirming the previous news, and adding that the enemy were in great force. Hamilton, upon receipt of this last despatch, halted his men on the ground adjoining the Roman camp at Ardoch, about five miles from Dunblane, till he should receive instructions from the earl. Mar soon thereafter returned from Drummond castle, and being desirous of obtaining additional intelligence from the general in advance, ordered Hamilton to remain in his position, and to hold his men in readiness to march on a moment's notice. This order had however been scarcely issued, when a fresh despatch arrived from General Gordon, announcing that the Duke of Argyle was in Dunblane with his whole army. Mar thereupon sent an express to Gordon, desiring him to remain where he was till the main body of the army should come up, and having ordered three guns to be fired, the signal agreed upon to be given Hamilton for putting his men

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in marching order, the latter immediately formed his division and put it in motion. After a junction between the two divisions of the army had been formed, the insurgents marched to the bridge of Kinbuck, about four miles from Dunblane, where they passed the night under arms without any covering or tent. The Duke of Argyle, who had the most exact intelligence brought to him of the motions of the insurgents, left Dunblane and formed his army in order of battle in the evening, on a rising ground above the house of Kippenross, about two miles northeast from the town. His army was drawn up in one extended line. In the centre were eight battalions of foot under the command of Major-General Wightman. The right wing consisted of five squadrons of dragoons, under Lieutenant-General Evans, and a similar number, at the head of whom was Lieutenant-General Whitham, composed the left wing. After thus drawing up his men, his Grace issued orders that no tent should be pitched during the night either by officer or private soldier; that all the officers without distinction should remain at their posts; and that the troops should rest on their arms in the exact order in which they had been formed. The severest penalties were threatened those who should infringe these orders. Though the night was extremely cold, the troops prostrated themselves upon the bare ground, and snatched a few hours' repose. The duke himself retired to a sheep-cote at the foot of a hill on the right of the army, where he passed the night sitting on a bundle of straw. Intelligence having been brought him at midnight of the near position of the enemy, he ordered six rounds of ammunition to be distributed to each man in addition to twenty-four which they had already received. This order was carried into effect before two o'clock in the morning.

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Although the two armies had bivouacked during the night within three miles of each other, and were only separated by the Sheriffmuir, an elevated and uneven waste, skirted on the west by the highroad from Stirling to Perth, near the River Allan, yet so ignorant was Mar of the movements of Argyle, that so far from supposing him to be within such a short distance of his camp, he imagined that he still remained at Dunblane; and it was not until he observed a reconnoitring party of Argyle's cavalry on the adjoining heights of the Sheriffmuir next morning that he became aware of his immediate proximity. This party was headed by the duke himself, who had aroused his army by break of day, and who, after issuing instructions to his men to prepare for battle, had ascended at an early hour the hill where his advanced guard was posted to survey the position of the insurgents.

The Earl of Mar had also put his men under arms shortly after break of day, and when Argyle's party of observation was first noticed, he was busily engaged ranging his men in marching order, preparatory to advancing upon Dunblane. Conceiving that Argyle meant to offer him battle immediately, he instantly assembled all the chiefs in front of his horse, and after addressing them in an eloquent speech, in which he painted in glowing colours the wrongs of their prince and their country, and congratulated them that the day had at length arrived when they could revenge their injuries in open battle, he desired to know if they were willing to engage. The Marquis of Huntly alone raised some objections, and some few were heard in an undertone to advise a return to Perth till the spring; but the voices of Huntly and his supporters were drowned by loud shouts of "fight, fight!" from the rest, who at once galloped off to their different posts.

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The Earl of Mar, thereupon, resumed the marshalling of his army, which formed into two lines with a rapidity and decision which would have done honour to veteran troops, but by accident, three squadrons of horse posted on the left, misled by a cry from the Highlanders, of "horse to the right," left their position and took ground on the right, an unfortunate mistake for the insurgents, as it contributed to the defeat of their left wing. The centre of the first line was composed of ten battalions of foot, consisting of about four thousand men under the command of the captain of Clanranald, Glengary, Sir John Maclean, the laird of Glenbucket, Brigadier Ogilvy, and the two brothers of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat. General Gordon, who had long served in the army of the Czar of Muscovy, was at the head of these battalions. On the right of this line were placed two of the Marquis of Huntly's squadrons of horse, and another called the Stirling squadron, which carried the Chevalier's standard. This squadron, which consisted wholly of gentlemen, also bore the title of "the Restoration regiment of horse." The Perthshire squadron formed the left wing. The centre of the second line consisted of eight battalions of foot, viz., three of the Earl of Seaforth's foot, two of the Marquis of Huntly's, the Earl of Panmure's battalion, and those of the Marquis of Tullibardine of Drummond, commanded by the Viscount of Strathallan, and of Logie-Almond, and Robertson of Struan. On the right of this second line were posted two squadrons of horse under the Earl Marischal. The Angus squadron was on the left. The whole of the force thus formed for action may be estimated at eight thousand, besides which there was a *corps de reserve* of four hundred horse posted considerably in the rear.

While this formation was going on, the Duke of Argyle

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observed for several hours with great attention the various evolutions of the insurgents; but from the nature of the ground occupied by them he could not obtain a full view of their line which extended through a hollow way, the view of which was obstructed by the brow of a hill which was occupied by a party of Mar's troops. From Mar's advanced guards looking towards Dunblane the duke conjectured that the insurgents intended to march in that direction; but he was undeceived in this idea by a movement on the part of a mass of the insurgents towards his right as if they intended to cross the moor and fall upon the flank of his army. As a large morass lay in the way of the insurgents, Argyle, in advancing from Dunblane, had conceived himself free from danger on that side; but it had now been rendered quite passable for foot as well as horse by a keen frost during the preceding night. As soon as Argyle saw this large body advance up the face of the moor, which, from the right wing of the insurgents being concealed from his view by a rising ground, he supposed was the main body of Mar's army, he requested the advice of the officers who surrounded him as to how he should act. It was the general opinion, an opinion in which the duke himself concurred, that there would be less risk in engaging the insurgents on the high grounds than in waiting for them in the position occupied by the duke's army; but although most of the officers thought that there would not be sufficient time to bring forward the troops and to change the order of battle, a change which was absolutely necessary, the duke resolved to draw out his troops upon the moor.

Having come to this determination, the duke returned quickly to the army, and ordered the drums to beat the General. This order was given about eleven o'clock; but although the drums instantly beat to arms, an hour



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elapsed before the troops were ready to march. The new order of battle was as follows: The duke's first line consisted of six battalions of foot, all old troops, amounting scarcely to eighteen hundred men. On the right were posted three squadrons of dragoons, being the best in the army, namely Evans's, the Scots Greys, and the Earl of Stair's. On the left there were placed three squadrons of dragoons, namely, Carpenter's, Ker's, and a squadron of Stair's. The second line was composed of only two battalions of foot, with a squadron of dragoons on each wing. The right wing of the army was commanded by the duke himself, the centre by General Wightman, and the left by General Whitham. Behind Evans's dragoons, on the right wing, a body of about sixty horse, noblemen and gentlemen volunteers, took up a station.

The body which Argyle had observed coming up the face of the moor was a squadron of the Earl Marischal's horse and Sir Donald Macdonald's battalion, under their respective commanders. These had been despatched by the Earl of Mar, to drive away the reconnoitring party under the Duke of Argyle from the height; but on its disappearing, they returned and reported the circumstance to the earl. On receiving this intelligence, Mar gave orders to his troops to march up the hill in four columns. The whole army was accordingly put in motion, but they had not proceeded far when the Earl Marischal, who was in advance, observed Argyle forming his lines on the southern summit of the hill, at a short distance from him. He immediately notified the circumstance to Mar, who instantly gave orders to his men to quicken their pace up the hill. In the hurry of their ascent, the second line pressed so closely upon the first as to occasion some confusion on the left when again getting into line, and it was in consequence of this



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disorder that the squadrons of horse forsook their position on the left, and took ground on the right.

Before the insurgents reached the summit of the moor, Argyle's right wing was fully formed, but the greater part of his centre and left, who were moving up the ascent by a gradual progression from right to left, had not yet reached their ground. Argyle's right now found itself within pistol-shot of Mar's left, but from the greater extent of Mar's line, it considerably outflanked Argyle's left.

As soon as the Earl of Mar perceived that Argyle's line was only partially formed, he resolved instantly to attack him before he should be able to complete his arrangements; and having sent orders to his right and left to fall simultaneously upon the enemy, Mar placed himself at the head of the clans, and being apprised by a firing on his left that the action had commenced, he pulled off his hat, which he waved, and with a huzza led forward his men upon the half-formed battalions which composed the left wing of the enemy. Arrived within pistol-shot, the Highlanders, according to custom, poured in a volley upon the English infantry. The fire was instantly returned, and, to the dismay of the Highlanders, Alan Muidartach, the captain of Clanranald, was mortally wounded. He was instantly carried off the field, and, as his men clustered around him, he encouraged them to stand firm to their posts, and expressed a hope that the result of the struggle in which they were engaged would be favourable to the cause of his sovereign. The loss of a chief, who, from the stately magnificence with which he upheld his feudal rank, and the urbanity of his disposition, had acquired an ascendancy over the minds of his people, could not fail to depress their spirits, and make them almost overlook the danger of their situation. While

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absorbed in grief, they were in a moment roused from their dejection by Glengary, who, observing their conduct at this juncture, sprung forward, and throwing his bonnet into the air, cried aloud, in the expressive language of his country, "Revenge! Revenge! Revenge to-day and mourning to-morrow!" No sooner had this brave chieftain pronounced these words, than the Highlanders rushed forward, sword in hand, with the utmost fury, upon the Royalist battalions. The government troops attempted to stem the impetuosity of the attack, by opposing the Highlanders with fixed bayonets, but the latter pushed them aside with their targets, and rushing in with their broadswords among the enemy, spread death and terror around them. The three battalions on Argyle's left, which had never been properly formed, unable to rally, instantly gave way, and falling back upon some squadrons of horse in their rear, created such confusion, that within seven or eight minutes after the assault, the form of a battalion or squadron was no longer discernible. A complete rout ensued; and there seems no doubt that the whole of Argyle's left would have been completely destroyed, had not General Whitham, at the head of the squadrons which were upon the left of the battalions, checked the advance of Mar's horse by a charge, in which he succeeded in capturing a standard. Afraid of being outflanked by Argyle's left wing, which extended far beyond his position, and being ignorant of what was passing on the right wing of the Royalists, the view of which was concealed by the unevenness of the ground, Whitham retired in the direction of Dunblane. The Earl of Mar pursued the disordered mass to the distance of only half a mile, and having ordered his foot to halt till he should put them in order, resolved to follow the enemy and complete the victory; but receiving

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intelligence that his left wing and second line had given way, and that his artillery had been taken, he retraced his steps, and took up a position on the top of the stony hill of Kippendavie, till he should receive further information respecting the fate of his left wing.

This wing, which was the first to begin the attack, opened a fire upon Argyle's right wing when almost within pistol-shot. The Highlanders thereafter steadily advanced, and pouring a second volley among the enemy, with a precision and effect not to be surpassed by the best disciplined troops, rushed up, sword in hand, to the very muzzles of their muskets. Though the fire was destructive, and made Evans's dragoons reel for a time, the English troops maintained their ground, and the foot kept up a platooning, which checked the fury of their assailants. The struggle continued for some time without any decided advantage on either side; but as Argyle began to perceive that he could make no impression in front upon the numerous masses of the insurgents, and that he might be out-flanked by them, he resolved to attack them on their flank with part of his cavalry, while his foot should gall them with their fire in front. He therefore ordered Colonel Cathcart to move along the morass to the right with a strong body of cavalry, and to fall upon the flank of Mar's left wing, a movement which he executed with great skill. Cathcart, after receiving a fire from the insurgent horse, immediately charged them, but they sustained the assault with great firmness. Borne down by the superior weight of the English dragoons, whose horses were much larger than those of the insurgents, the Scottish horse, after nearly half-an-hour's contest, were compelled to give way. The foot of Argyle's right having made a simultaneous attack upon Mar's first line of foot, the latter also were forced to fall back,

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and Mar's horse and foot coming into contact with his second line, they mixed indiscriminately, and a general rout in consequence ensued.

After receding a short distance, the insurgent horse, which consisted principally of the Jacobite gentry of Perthshire and Angus, attempted to rally, and even to charge Argyle's cavalry in their turn, but they were again forced to retire by the pressure of the English dragoons, who kept advancing in regular order upon the receding masses of the insurgents. Determined, however, not to yield one inch of ground without the utmost necessity, the cavalier horse made repeated efforts to drive the enemy back, and, in the course of their retreat, made ten or twelve attempts at different places to rally and charge the advancing foe; but unable to resist the overwhelming pressure of the English cavalry, they were, after three hours' hard fighting, driven across the River Allan by Argyle's dragoons. Some idea may be formed of the obstinacy of the contest, when it is considered that the distance from the field of battle to the river is scarcely three miles. To the gallant stand made by the horse may be ascribed the safety of the foot, who would have been probably all cut to pieces by the dragoons, if the attention of the latter had not been chiefly occupied by the horse. The foot, however, suffered considerably in the retreat, notwithstanding the humanity of the Duke of Argyle, who endeavoured to restrain the carnage. Besides offering quarter to such of the Jacobite gentlemen as were personally known to him, he displayed his anxiety for the preservation of his countrymen so far, that on observing a party of his dragoons cutting down a body of foot, into which they had thrown themselves, he exclaimed with a feeling of deep emotion, "Oh, spare the poor Blue-bonnets!"

As Mar's right wing had been concealed from the view

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of Argyle, the latter conceived that the numerous body he was driving before him formed the entire of the insurgent army. He, therefore, resolved to continue the pursuit till dark, and to support him, he ordered General Wightman, who commanded his foot upon the right, to follow him with his battalions as quickly as possible. Wightman accordingly proceeded to follow the duke with a force of rather more than three regiments; but he had not marched far when he heard a firing on his left, to ascertain the cause of which, he sent his aide-de-camp in the direction whence the firing proceeded. This officer returned in a short time, and reported that the half of Argyle's foot, and the squadrons on the left, had all been cut off by the right of the insurgents, which was superior in point of numbers to Argyle's left. Wightman thereupon slackened his pace, and despatched a messenger to inform the duke of the fate of his left wing. Afraid of being attacked in his rear by Mar's right wing, he kept his men in perfect order, but no demonstration was made to follow him. When informed of the defeat of his left wing, Argyle gave over the pursuit, and joining Wightman with five squadrons of dragoons, put his men in order of battle and marched boldly to the bottom of the hill, on the top of which the enemy, amounting to four thousand men, were advantageously posted. Argyle had now scarcely a thousand men under him, and as these were already greatly exhausted, he judged it expedient to act on the defensive; and accordingly he posted his men behind some enclosures at the bottom of the hill, ready to repel any attack which the enemy might make. For better protection he posted two pieces of cannon on his right and left, to play upon the enemy should they approach; but the insurgents showed no disposition to engage, and both parties, as if by mutual consent,



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retired from their positions in different directions. The duke filed off his men to the right, in marching order, towards Dunblane; but as he still dreaded an attack, he formed his men several times on the march, wherever he found the ground convenient, and waited the approach of the enemy. Mar drew off his men toward Ardoch, where he passed the night, and Argyle's troops lay under arms during the night in the neighbourhood of Dunblane.

As might have been expected, on an occasion of such dubious success on either side, both parties claimed a victory, but impartiality will confer the palm on neither. Argyle, it is true, visited the field of battle the following morning, which Mar might also have done had he been inclined, and this circumstance, therefore, can afford no argument in support of his pretensions. Neither can the capture of standards and colours by Argyle be considered as a proof of success, for although he took fourteen colours and standards, including the royal standard called "the Restoration," besides six pieces of cannon and other trophies, Mar, according to the official Jacobite account, captured four stands of colours, several drums, and about fourteen or fifteen hundred stands of arms. Accounts the most contradictory have been given by both parties of the losses sustained by them. According to the rolls of Argyle's muster-master general, his loss amounted to 290 men killed, 187 wounded, and 133 prisoners, making a grand total of 610, while the Jacobite account makes the loss in killed and wounded on the side of Argyle amount to between seven and eight hundred, and states the number of killed on Mar's side as only one in fifteen to those of Argyle. On the other hand, the Jacobites state their loss in killed at only sixty, and that very few of their men were wounded, while the Royalists say that they lost, in



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killed and wounded, about eight hundred men. From these statements, it appears that the main discrepancy relates to the loss on the Jacobite side, which can neither be admitted to the extent of the royalist account, nor considered so low as that given by the Jacobites. But even supposing the royalist statement correct, the comparative loss of the insurgents scarcely exceeded one-third of that sustained by the government forces.

Several officers were killed on the Royalist side. Among the wounded was the Earl of Forfar, a brave officer who commanded Morison's regiment. He received a shot in the knee, and sixteen other wounds, of which he died at Stirling about three weeks after the battle. Several persons of distinction were killed on the side of the insurgents, among whom were the Earl of Strathmore, and the captain of Clanranald. A considerable number of gentlemen were taken prisoners by Argyle, but many of them escaped, and he was only enabled to carry eighty-two of them to Stirling. Of this number were Lord Strathallan, Thomas Drummond his brother, Walkinshaw, of Barrowfield, Drummond of Logie-Drummond, and Murray of Auchtertyre.

On whichever side success lay, the battle, in its consequences, was most important in many respects to the government, as it was immediately followed by the desertion of a considerable number of the clans. With the exception of the Macdonalds, who particularly distinguished themselves on the right, and the Perthshire and Angus horse who withstood the repeated shocks of Argyle's cavalry, the remainder of the insurgent army made little resistance. The Macphersons and Macgregors did not join in the contest at all, but looked on as if unconcerned about the result. Some of the clans, disgusted at the pusillanimity or indifference exhibited

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by their associates, and others dispirited by the firmness displayed by the government forces, returned to their homes, thus verifying the observation made by a Jacobite in reference to the clans, that whether victorious or beaten, they would run away and go home. The defection of these clans was a severe blow to Mar, and made him abandon the idea of crossing the Forth. He, therefore, returned to Perth, with the remains of his army, and, to encourage the friends of the Jacobite interest, circulated the most favourable accounts of his alleged success at Sheriffmuir, and of the state of the Chevalier's affairs, although he himself began to consider them desperate. The Duke of Argyle, on the other hand, retired to his original headquarters at Stirling, intending to resume offensive operations as soon as some expected reinforcements should arrive.

The attempt of Mar to disguise the real state of matters was too gross to deceive his adherents, and there were not a few who already began to entertain thoughts of making their own terms with the government; but the Highland chiefs and the principal officers remained firm, and urged Mar to risk another battle even with his reduced forces. The earl, however, though personally brave, was not the man to comply with an advice so opposed to the rule he had laid down for himself, never to engage without a very superior force on his side. But had he been of a different opinion, an event of which he soon received intelligence would probably have precluded him from moving a second time upon Stirling. This was the capture of the important fort of Inverness, by a party of the Frasers, Grants, and others, headed by Simon Fraser of Beaufort, better known in history as Lord Lovat, who, to promote his own personal interest with the government, had taken a decided part against the Chevalier. The clannish principle, that

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obedience to a chief is the first of duties, was fully exemplified on this occasion, by the defection of a large body of the Frasers, who had joined Mar's standard under Fraser of Fraserdale, in the absence of their chief. The Earl of Seaforth, the greater part of whose men had returned home, was despatched to the north on receipt of this intelligence, for the purpose of collecting forces, and of attempting, in conjunction with the Marquis of Huntly, who was also sent north with his horse, the reduction of Inverness.

It has been remarked as a singular circumstance in this history of Mar's insurrection, that the three important events which decided its fate should have occurred in regular daily succession. Inverness was captured on the twelfth of November, and on the same day Mackintosh's forces, cooped up in Preston, had to maintain a precarious struggle against the attacks of Wells's army. Next day witnessed the battle of Sheriffmuir, and at the very time the insurgents in Preston were offering terms of surrender, the right wings of Argyle's and Mar's armies were pursuing, with all the confidence of victory, the wings to which they were respectively opposed. And lastly, while on the fourteenth the insurgents in England were capitulating at Preston, the two rival armies in the north were retiring to their headquarters, each of them claiming a victory.

As the capture of Inverness by the Royalists was an important occurrence in the history of this short-lived insurrection, some account of it and of some preliminary circumstances connected therewith may not be here out of place. So late as the thirteenth of September, only two months before the battle of Sheriffmuir, and the surrender at Preston, Brigadier Mackintosh, at the head of five hundred men, had proclaimed the Chevalier in the capital of the Highlands. He had thereupon

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demanding possession of some arms and ammunition which were in Culloden House, but the lady of Mr. Forbes, the proprietor, who was then in London, shut the gates, and refused to deliver up the keys. At her desire, Colonel Munro, son of Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, who had lately been appointed governor of Inverness, raised two hundred well-armed men, to protect the lands of Culloden; but on arriving at the water of Conon with his men, he was induced to retrace his steps, in consequence of a message from the Earl of Seaforth, threatening to oppose his passage with a body of fifteen hundred men.

When Mackintosh marched south to join the Earl of Mar, a detachment, under Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, took possession of Inverness by desire of the Earl of Seaforth. Meantime, Colonel Munro had formed a camp at Alness, where he had collected nearly six hundred of the Munros and Rosses, and where he was joined on the sixth of October, by the Earl of Sutherland, and the Lords Strathnaver and Reay, who brought about six hundred additional men along with them. The object of collecting this force was twofold, — first, to protect the territories of the great northern Whigs from the incursions of a formidable body of eighteen hundred men, which lay encamped at Brahan, under the Earl of Seaforth; and secondly, by threatening an inroad upon his own lands and those of his followers, to detain the earl in the north, and thus prevent his junction with the forces under Mar. By the junction of seven hundred Macdonalds, under Sir Donald Macdonald, and other minor accessions from the Mackinnons, Macraes, the Chisholms of Strathglass, and other clans, the earl's force was increased to three thousand men. Thus strengthened, Seaforth left his camp on the ninth of October, to attack the Earl of Sutherland, but the

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latter, on account of the disparity of numbers, made a retreat to the Bonar, after which his men dispersed and returned to their homes. A body of about six hundred Grants, who had advanced as far as the water of Findhorn, for the purpose of entering Ross, and joining the camp at Alness, on hearing of the retreat of the Earl of Sutherland, returned home. At Alness, where Seaforth took up his quarters, he collected a large quantity of booty from the lands of the Munroes, and after spending some days there, he marched to Inverness, whence he took his departure for the south.

About this time, Lord Lovat arrived in the north, and, in conjunction with some friends of the government, formed a plan for seizing Inverness. Having collected a body of the Frasers and Grants, he invested the town, and sent in a detachment under the command of Captain Arthur Ross, brother to the laird of Kilravock, to surprise it; but the detachment was repulsed, and the captain killed. A resolution was thereupon entered into by the besiegers, to surround the town and castle, preparatory to a general assault; but Sir John Mackenzie, the Jacobite governor, conceiving himself incapable of making an effectual resistance, evacuated the castle, and crossing the Frith with his men in boats, allowed Lovat to enter the town without further opposition. In retaliation for the Earl of Seaforth's conduct at Alness, the Earl of Sutherland, after the capture of Inverness, made a journey with his own men, and parties of the Mackays, Rosses, and Munroes, through the country of the Mackenzies, and levied a contribution upon all the gentlemen of that name, whose tenants had joined Seaforth, equal to six weeks' provisions, for the number of men they were bound by law to have furnished the government.

The arrival of the Chevalier had been long anxiously



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looked for by his friends in Scotland. He was now about to gratify their desire of beholding his person; but James had already missed the golden opportunity, which presented itself at an early stage of the insurrection, of recovering his father's crown. Had he, on arriving at St. Malo, whither he proceeded from Lorraine at the breaking out of the insurrection, instantly taken shipping, he would not only have complied with the declared wishes of his adherents, but would have evinced at once a determination to maintain his claim. Instead of embarking, however, immediately, as he should have done, he spent so much time in the shipment of supplies, which he was desirous should precede his departure, that he was at last altogether prevented from sailing by some men-of-war, which appeared off the harbour of St. Malo, and which had been sent by the British government to intercept him. That he might not disappoint the expectations of his partisans, he resolved to go to Dunkirk in quest of shipping, and having traversed the country in disguise, he embarked at that port, about the middle of December, on board a small French vessel of eight guns, which had formerly been a privateer. He was attended by five persons only, who, to prevent suspicion, were disguised as French officers. Among these were the Marquis of Tynemouth, son of the Duke of Berwick, and Lieutenant Allan Cameron, a son of Lochiel.

If, from the apparent pusillanimity of the prince's conduct at St. Malo, there were persons who felt inclined to question his courage, they must have been undeceived by this bold and adventurous step. While at St. Malo, he had, to avoid the risk of capture, formed the design of exchewing both channels, by shipping his course along the western coast of Ireland, and landing in the western Highlands. In this way he would have

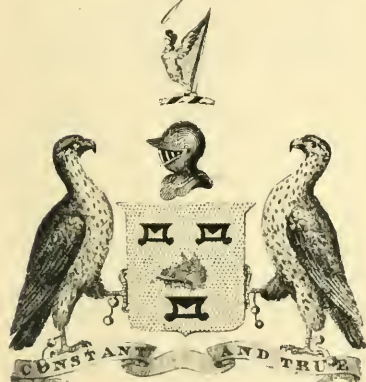




*Kops*



*Macniel*



*Kose*



*Robertson*



*Macnab*



*Maclean*



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incurred little danger; but the case was very different in traversing the German ocean, which was beset by British men-of-war, which were constantly on the alert. Yet regardless of the evident risk which he ran, by attempting a descent upon the eastern coast of Scotland, he sailed from Dunkirk in the small vessel in which he had embarked, after leaving instructions to despatch after him two other vessels which lay in the harbour with his domestics, and some stores for the use of his army. It was the Chevalier's intention to have landed in the vicinity of the Frith of Tay, and accordingly, after steering in a northerly direction, he stood across for the coast of Angus, which was deserted after a voyage of five days; but observing, at some distance, a sail, which he judged to be unfriendly, he altered his course to northward with the design of landing at Peterhead, of which the Earl Marischal was the feudal superior. The vessel which carried the Chevalier came, however, sufficiently near to land to intimate by signals to the friends of the prince in the neighbourhood that he was on board, which intelligence was immediately conveyed to the camp at Perth, where it was received with a feeling of intense delight.

The Chevalier arrived off Peterhead on the twenty-second of December, seven days from the date of his departure from Dunkirk, and immediately landed with his small retinue of five persons, all disguised as seamen. After despatching the vessel to France with the news of his arrival, he and his companions took up their abode in the town for the night. He passed the next night at Newburgh, a seat of the Earl Marischal, having previously sent Lieutenant Cameron to Perth with the intelligence of his landing. The Chevalier continued his journey towards Perth, and on the twenty-fourth, passed *incognito* through Aberdeen, and arrived at

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Fetteresso, the principal seat of the Earl of Marischal, where he remained several days. As soon as Lieutenant Cameron reached Perth, the Earl of Mar, the Earl Marischal, General Hamilton, and about thirty other gentlemen mounted their horses, and set off to meet the Chevalier. This cavalcade arrived at Fetteresso on the twenty-seventh, and the persons composing it were introduced to "the king," and had the honour of kissing his hand. After the breaking up of the court, the Chevalier was proclaimed at the gates of the house, and printed copies of the declaration which he had issued in Lorraine were immediately dispersed.

The Chevalier intended to have proceeded next day on his journey to Perth, but he was detained at Fetteresso till the second of January, by two successive fits of ague, which, however, did not prevent him from receiving addresses from the "Episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen," and from the magistrates, town council, and Jacobite inhabitants of the town. The address of the clergy, which was presented on the twenty-ninth of December by the Rev. Drs. James and George Garden, Doctor Burnet, and the Rev. Messrs. Dumbreck, Blair, and Maitland, was couched in very loyal terms, and as embodying the sentiments of a highly respectable party, deserves something more than a mere passing notice. Although, among all lovers of rational liberty, there can be little difference of opinion as to the expediency which dictated the expulsion of the unfortunate race of Stuart from the throne, still we cannot but admire the firm attachment displayed by the adherents of that family to their cause, even in its most hopeless state. It was quite natural for the Catholics to espouse the cause of the Chevalier and his son, as apart from their principles, which tend to support hereditary succession, these princes were professed Catholics; but no

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motives save those of the purest loyalty could have induced the non-jurant clergy and their flocks to enlist themselves under the banners of the descendants of a king who intended, as many believed, perhaps erroneously, to have established the Catholic religion. The Catholics had, no doubt, even when labouring under the most galling restrictions, shown them the example by their stern inflexibility to the two Charleses, but by comparing the relative situations of both parties at the period in question, the Protestant Jacobites of the north may be considered entitled to the precedence in disinterestedness.

The address from the clergy, after expressing thanks to God for the Chevalier's "safe and happy arrival" in Scotland, where his presence had been so much longed for, thus proceeds:—"We hope and pray that God may open the eyes of such of your subjects, as malicious and self-designing men have industriously blinded with prejudices against your Majesty, as if the recovery of your just rights would ruin our religious liberties and property, which by the overturning of these rights have been highly encroached upon; and we are persuaded that your Majesty's justice and goodness will settle and secure those just privileges, to the conviction of your most malicious enemies.

"Almighty God has been pleased to train up your Majesty from your infancy in the school of the cross, in which the divine grace inspires the mind with true wisdom and virtue, and guards it against those false blandishments by which prosperity corrupts the heart; and as this school has sent forth the most illustrious princes, as Moses, Joseph, and David, so we hope the same infinitely wise and good God designs to make your Majesty, not only a blessing to your own kingdoms, and a true father of them, but also a great



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instrument of the general peace and good of mankind.

“Your princely virtues are such, that in the esteem of the best judges you are worthy to wear a crown, though you had not been born to it; which makes us confident that it will be your Majesty’s care to make your subjects a happy people, and so to secure them in their religious liberties and property as to leave no just ground of distrust, and to unite us all in true Christianity according to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the practice of the primitive Christians.” After alluding to the proclamation issued by the government for securing the person of the Chevalier, which is designated as an encouragement to murder, the addressers assure him that as it had been so it should be their care to instil into the minds of the people true principles of loyalty to his “Majesty.” The Chevalier in answer stated, that he was sensible of the zeal and loyalty which they had expressed for him, and that he should be glad to have opportunities of giving them marks of his favour and protection. A similar answer was returned to the address from Aberdeen.

While at Fetteresso the Chevalier exercised some of the functions of royalty, by conferring titles of dignity on some of his adherents. He raised the Earl of Mar to a dukedom; and, according to report, conferred the honour of knighthood upon Bannerman, the Jacobite provost of Aberdeen, who presented the address from that city. Having recovered from his attack, the Chevalier left Fetteresso on the second of January, and went to Brechin, where he passed the night. Next day he moved forward to Kinnaird, and on the fourth he removed to Glamis Castle, the principal seat of the Earl of Strathmore. At Glamis Mar drew up a letter, in which he gave a very flattering account of the Cheva-



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lier. As the object of this letter was to impress the people with a favourable opinion of the Chevalier, Mar ordered it to be printed and circulated as widely as possible. The letter is written with address, and may still be perused with interest:—

“ GLAMES, 5 Jan. 1716.

“ I met the king at Fetteresso on Tuesday se’night, where we staid till Friday; from thence we came to Brechin, then to Kinnaird, and yesterday here. The king designed to have gone to Dundee to-day, but there is such a fall of snow that he is forced to put it off till to-morrow, if it be practicable then; and from thence he designs to go to Scone. There was no haste in his being there sooner, for nothing can be done this season, else he had not been so long by the way. People, everywhere, as we have come along, are excessively fond to see him, and express that duty they ought. Without any compliment to him, and to do him nothing but justice, set aside his being a prince, he is really the first gentleman I ever knew. He has a very good presence, and resembles King Charles a great deal. His presence, however, is not the best of him. He has fine parts, and despatches all his business himself with the greatest exactness. I never saw anybody write so finely. He is affable to a great degree, without losing that majesty he ought to have, and has the sweetest temper in the world. In a word, he is every way fitted to make us a happy people, were his subjects worthy of him. To have him peaceably settled on his throne, is what these kingdoms do not deserve; but he deserves it so much that I hope there is a good fate attending him. I am sure there is nothing wanting to make the rest of his subjects as fond of him as we are, but their knowing him as we do; and it will be odd if his presence among us, after his running so many hazards to compass

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it, do not turn the hearts, even of the most obstinate. It is not fit to tell all the particulars, but I assure you he has left nothing undone, that well could be, to gain everybody; and I hope God will touch their hearts.

“I have reason to hope we shall very quickly see a new face of affairs abroad in the king’s favour, which is all I dare commit to paper.

“MAR.”

On the morning of the sixth of January the Chevalier left Glammis for Dundee, which town he entered about eleven o’clock A. M. on horseback, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, the Earl of Mar riding on his right hand, and the Earl Marischal on his left, and followed by a train of nearly three hundred adherents on horseback. To gratify the people who flocked round eager to behold him and to kiss his hand, he, at the request of his friends, remained about an hour on horseback at the cross of the burgh, after which he rode out to the house of Stewart of Grandtully in the neighbourhood, where he dined and passed the night. On the following day he proceeded along the Carse of Gowrie to Castle Lyon, a seat of the Earl of Strathmore, where he dined, and thence to Fingask, the seat of Sir David Threipland, where he spent the night. Next day, being Sunday, he took up his abode in the royal palace of Scone, where he intended to stay till the ceremony of his coronation should be performed.

On Monday the Chevalier made his public entry into Perth. He met, however, with a cold reception, and he himself felt evidently disappointed at the appearance of the camp. He had heard much of the Highland chiefs and the clans, and being desirous to see “those little kings (the chiefs) with their armies,” as he expressed himself, a select body of Highlanders exhibited before

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him. Their appearance gave him great satisfaction, but when he ascertained the paucity of the number in the camp, he could not repress the chagrin and disappointment he felt. On the other hand, the friends of the Chevalier were equally disappointed. Neither his appearance nor demeanour on the present occasion tended in any shape to justify the exaggerated encomiums of Mar, and his lugubrious deportment while at Perth tended more to alienate the affections of his adherents, and depress their spirits, than even the disappointment of supplies from France. The master of Sinclair, an eye-witness, thus describes the appearance of the Chevalier on his arrival at Perth, his behaviour while there, and their consequent effects upon his followers.

“ His person was tall and thin, seeming to incline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years. His countenance was pale, but perhaps looked more so than usual, by reason he had three fits of ague which took him two days after his coming on shore. Yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and there is something of a vivacity in his eye that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not been under dejected circumstances, and surrounded with discouragement, which it must be acknowledged were sufficient to alter the complexion even of his soul as well as of his body. His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressive of his thoughts, nor over much to the purpose; but his words were few, and his behaviour and temper seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions we know not; here was no room for such things. It was no time for mirth. Neither can I say I ever saw him smile. Those who speak so positively of his being like King James VII must excuse me for saying, that it seems to say they either never saw this person, or never

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saw King James VII; and yet I must not conceal that when we saw the man whom they called our king, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence; and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him. I am sure the figure he made dejected us; and had he sent us but five thousand men of good troops, and never himself come among us, we had done other things than we have now done. At the approach of that crisis when he was to defend his pretensions, and either lose his life or gain a crown, I think, as his affairs were situated, no man can say that his appearing grave and composed was a token of his want of thought, but rather of a significant anxiety grounded upon the prospect of his inevitable ruin, which he could not be so void of sense as not to see plainly before him, at least when he came to see how inconsistent his measures were, how unsteady the resolution of his guides, and how impossible it was to make them agree with one another."

The Chevalier returned to Scone in the evening, and, notwithstanding the ominous symptoms of the day, proceeded to form a council preparatory to exercising the functions of royalty. From Scone he soon issued no less than six proclamations; one for a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival; another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in the churches; a third, establishing the currency of foreign coin; a fourth, ordering a meeting of the convention of estates; a fifth, commanding all fencible men from sixteen to sixty to repair to

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his standard; and a sixth, fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation at Scone. These assumptions of sovereign authority were, however, of a very evanescent character, as they had scarcely been issued when the Chevalier and his principal friends resolved to abandon the contest as hopeless. Indeed, from the reduced state of the army, and its deficiency in arms and ammunition, a determination had been come to by his party, a month before he landed, to retire from Perth as soon as Argyle should march against it; but being ignorant of that resolution and believing that the insurgents intended to defend Perth, Argyle delayed his advance till he should be joined by large reinforcements from England and Holland.

Though continued in the command of the army, Argyle, for some reason or other, was not a favourite at court. Of his fidelity there could be no suspicion, and his conduct had lately shown that he wanted neither zeal nor ability to perform the task which had been assigned him. It has been conjectured that the leniency which he was disposed to show towards his unfortunate countrymen was the cause of that hidden displeasure which ended in the dismissal of himself and of his brother, the Earl of Ilay, from all their employments. The rejection of an application which he made to the government for extended powers to treat with the insurgents after the battle of Sheriffmuir, goes far to support the supposition. But whatever were his views, he appeared to be in no hurry to pursue the insurgents, probably from an idea that they would disperse of their own accord. By the arrival of a body of six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, and other reinforcements from England, Argyle found himself, early in January, at the head of upwards of ten thousand men, besides a large train of artillery. Desirous of expelling the insurgents from



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Fife before advancing north, a detachment of Dutch and Scotch troops crossed the Frith of Forth by the duke's orders, and under cover of some men-of-war, landed at Burntisland, of which they took possession. On receiving this intelligence the insurgents immediately abandoned all the towns on the north side of the Frith, a circumstance which was attended with serious consequences to their friends at Perth, who were in consequence entirely cut off from their supplies of coals, at an unusually inclement season.

About the end of January, Argyle was in full condition to march north, but the snow, which had fallen to a great depth, appeared to him to offer a formidable obstruction to the march of an army unaccustomed to a winter's campaign; and which, from the insurgents having burnt and destroyed the villages on the road, would have to bivouac two or three nights in the open air, exposed to all the rigours of an hyperborean winter. For these reasons Argyle urged, at a council of war, which was held at Stirling, a postponement of the march; but General Cadogan, who had been sent down to Scotland to hasten the duke's motions, insisting upon an immediate advance, and having openly accused Argyle of a want of zeal, his grace made preparations for marching, and to facilitate the transport of his cannon and wagons, issued orders for assembling some thousands of the country people to clear away the snow.

Although the Jacobite leaders had come to the resolution of abandoning Perth as soon as the Duke of Argyle should advance upon it, they nevertheless gave indications as if they really meant to hold out. Pursuant to an order of a council, which was held on the sixteenth of January, the most strenuous exertions were made to fortify the town, and both officers and men vied with



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one another in hastening the completion of the works. What the motives of the leaders may have been in thus practising a deception upon the army, it is impossible to conceive; perhaps the distant hope of being joined by the more remote clans, the chance of some fortunate, though unlooked for, occurrence in the chapter of accidents, or an idea that their men could not be otherwise kept together, may have been the inducing causes of these defensive preparations; but whatever their motives were, the apparent determination shown by the leading men to meet the enemy, had the most beneficial effect upon the army, which evinced a strong desire to engage. In this wish they thought they were to be gratified sooner than they expected, by the arrival of some country people at Perth who brought intelligence that Argyle was advancing with all his cavalry, and four thousand foot mounted on horses. This news was, however, premature, and had originated in the appearance of a reconnoitring party of two hundred dragoons, which Argyle had sent forward on the road to Perth, on the twenty-first of January, and which the fears of the people had magnified into an army.

All doubts, however, were removed in a few days, by the receipt of authentic intelligence at Perth, that Argyle, having completed his arrangements, was to leave Stirling for Perth on the twenty-ninth of January, with his whole army. The councillors of the Chevalier were dismayed at this intelligence, but it had quite an opposite effect upon the mass of the army. Nothing was to be heard in the Jacobite camp but the voice of joy and rejoicing, and congratulations, on the supposed happy result of an encounter with the enemy, were exchanged on all sides — between the officers and gentlemen volunteers, and the common soldiers and clansmen. While the former were pledging each other

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in their cups and drinking to "the good day," so near at hand, as they thought, which was to crown the Chevalier's arms with victory, the latter, amid the din of the warlike bagpipe, were to be seen giving each other a cordial shake of the hand as if fully assured of success.

Whilst these congratulatory exhibitions were going on, the councillors of the Chevalier were deliberating upon the course they should pursue; but although they sat during the whole night they could come to no decided resolution. When the irresolution of the council became generally known, the men could not restrain their indignation, and a general opinion began to prevail among them, that they had been betrayed. Impressed with this feeling, they became mutinous, and carried their insubordination so far as to insult the officers, whom they supposed had betrayed them, in the streets, and to load them with reproachful epithets. The gentlemen volunteers also participated in the same sentiments; and one of them from the higher parts of Aberdeenshire was heard to declare, before a group of malecontents assembled in the street, that the clans should take the person of the Chevalier out of the hands of the weak councillors who surrounded him, adding that he would find ten thousand gentlemen in Scotland who would hazard their lives for him, if he was equally ready as a prince to risk his own life in vindicating his right to the crown. A friend of the Earl of Mar, after remonstrating with this party, asked what they wished their officers to do. — "Do," replied a Highlander, "what did you call us to take arms for? Was it to run away? What did the king come hither for? Was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike a stroke for their lives? Let us die like men and not like dogs."

Amid the confusion and perplexity occasioned by

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such a state of things, Mar convened another meeting of the council on the evening of the twenty-ninth, at which a resolution to retreat was entered into chiefly at the suggestion of Mar. His reasons for advising an abandonment of the enterprise for the present, were, first, the failure of the Duke of Ormond's attempt to invade England; secondly, the great accession of force which Argyle had received from abroad; and, lastly, the reduced state of the Jacobite forces, which did not exceed four thousand men, and of whom only about twenty-five hundred were properly armed. Besides these there were, according to the master of Sinclair, other reasons of a private nature which influenced Mar to give the advice he did, the chief of which, says the above-named authority, was that the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Huntly, and other Jacobites who were in treaty with the government, had basely resolved to deliver up the Chevalier to the Duke of Argyle, that they might procure better terms for themselves than they could otherwise expect. This odious charge, so improbable in itself, not being corroborated by any other writer, cannot be admitted.

Before communicating to the army the resolution to retreat, a general meeting of all the officers was held at Scone on the following day, when they were informed of the determination of the previous evening, and of the reasons which had led to it. It was then secretly resolved that the Chevalier and his principal officers should take shipping at Montrose for France, and that the army should be disbanded as soon as it reached the Highlands, or as soon as circumstances permitted; but to save appearances with the men, it was given out, that as Perth was untenable, it became necessary to retire to a stronger position, where they could not only defend themselves, but keep up a more secure and

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direct communication with their friends in the north. At this time there were three ships lying in the Tay off Dundee, which had lately arrived with supplies from France; and to secure these for the conveyance of the Chevalier and his followers, a French officer and clergyman were despatched to Dundee with orders to send them down the coast to Montrose, there to wait his arrival.

On the return of the officers to the camp, they promulgated the order to retreat to their men, and, as might have been anticipated, it was received with scorn and contempt. Among the Jacobite inhabitants of the town who had shown themselves very zealous in the cause of the Chevalier, the intelligence caused nothing but dismay, as from the prominent and decided part they had taken, they had incurred the penalties of treason against the government. The morning of the thirty-first of January was fixed upon for the retreat, but a body of about eight hundred Highlanders, disliking the aspect of affairs, and displeased with the conduct of the principal officers, quitted Perth the preceding night for the Highlands by way of Dunkeld. Preparatory to his departure, the Chevalier went from Scone to Perth in the evening, and took up his residence in the house of Hay the provost, a staunch Jacobite, where he supped and passed the night. At ten o'clock next morning the rebels began their march across the Tay, which was covered with ice of extraordinary thickness. About noon the whole army had passed, and was on the march to Dundee along the Carse of Gowrie.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Argyle was advancing upon Perth as fast as the nature of the difficulties he had to contend with would admit of. He had left Stirling on the twenty-ninth of January, and marched to Dun-

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blane. Next day he advanced as far as Auchterarder, which had been entirely burnt by the rebels. Here they passed the night upon the snow without "any other covering than the fine canopy of heaven." On the following day a detachment of two hundred dragoons and four hundred foot, which had been sent forward to protect the country people who were engaged in clearing away the snow, took possession of the castle of Tullibardine, the garrison of which had capitulated. The Duke of Argyle had resolved to take up his quarters for the night in this fortress; but receiving intelligence that the rebels had retired from Perth that morning, he ordered a party of four hundred dragoons and a thousand foot to hasten forward to take possession of that town. The duke, at the head of the dragoons, arrived at Perth about two o'clock in the morning of the first of February; but the foot, which were greatly fatigued, did not come up till ten o'clock. The remainder of the duke's army reached Perth that evening.

The distance from Stirling to Perth is only thirty-four miles, yet such was the obstruction that Argyle's army met with from the snow, that their march occupied three entire days. The difficulties of the march and the privations which his men had suffered by resting two nights on the snow, exposed to all the severities of the weather, had so exhausted his men, that it was not till the day after his arrival at Perth that the duke could muster a force sufficiently strong to pursue the enemy.

On the second of February Argyle left Perth at the head of six squadrons of dragoons, three battalions of foot, and eight hundred Highlanders. He stopped at Errol that night, and entered Dundee next day. Having learned that the Chevalier had left Dundee the preceding day on his way to Montrose, the duke



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sent forward a detachment towards Arbroath, and being joined by the remainder of his army on the fourth of February, he despatched on the same day three battalions of foot, five hundred of his own Highlanders, and fifty dragoons, towards Arbroath, and another detachment of three hundred foot, and fifty dragoons, in the direction of Brechin; but their march was retarded for some time by the snow. On the fifth the duke followed with the remainder of the army; and while he himself, at the head of the cavalry, took the highroad to Brechin, General Cadogan with the infantry marched in the direction of Arbroath.

During the retreat to Montrose, suspicions began to be entertained in the Chevalier's army, that it was his intention to embark for France, notwithstanding the assurances of the principal officers to the contrary. The unusual route along the seacoast gave credence to the rumour; but when they approached Montrose, and saw some French vessels lying at anchor off the shore, their suspicions were confirmed, and the men began to manifest symptoms of discontent. The insurgent army arrived at Montrose on the third of February, where it was intended they should pass the night; but the Chevalier's advisers, alarmed at the murmurings of the troops, ordered them to march the same night towards Aberdeen, where it was given out they meant to make a stand till succours should arrive from abroad. This assurance had the desired effect upon the troops, who accordingly began their march in the expectation that the Chevalier would follow them. To prevent suspicion his horses were ordered to be brought before the door of the house where he lodged at the hour appointed for the march, and his guards were ordered to mount, and to hold themselves in readiness to accompany him.



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Meanwhile the Chevalier was busily employed in making the necessary preparations for his approaching departure. To relieve his memory from the imputation of having voluntarily abandoned the brave men who had taken up arms in his cause, it is due to him to state that he had been all along opposed to such a step, and it was not until he had been repeatedly and earnestly urged by his friends that he could be prevailed upon to give his consent to retire beyond seas. He said he was ready to suffer every hardship, and expose himself to every danger, rather than abandon those who had risked their all in his service; but being assured, in the opinion of his friends, that the course they advised might be ultimately beneficial to both, he reluctantly yielded to their entreaties. His principal motive for acceding to their wishes was the consideration that, if relieved from his presence, the government might be disposed to give better terms to his followers than they would be otherwise disposed to grant.

Before his departure he ordered a commission to be drawn up, by which he appointed General Gordon commander-in-chief, with all necessary powers, and particularly with authority to treat with the enemy. He wrote, at the same time, a paper containing his reasons for leaving the kingdom, and along with which he delivered to the general all the money in his possession (excepting a small sum which he reserved for defraying the expenses of himself and suite) with instructions, after paying the army, to apply the residue in indemnifying the inhabitants of the villages which had been burned, for the losses sustained by them. At the same time the Chevalier put the following letter to the Duke of Argyle, which he had dictated to a secretary, into the hands of General Gordon, respecting the appropriation of the money so left. It is an interest-

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ing document, and exhibits the humanity of the prince in a favourable point of view: —

“FOR THE DUKE OF ARGIL.

“MONROSS, *4th February, 1716.*

“It was the view of delivering this my ancient kingdom from the hardship it lay under, and restoring it to its former happiness and independency, that brought me into this country; and all hopes of effectuating that at this time being taken from me, I have been reduced much against my inclination, but by a cruel necessity, to leave the kingdom with as many of my faithful subjects as were desirous to follow me, or I able to carry with me, that so at least I might secure them from the utter destruction that threatens them, since that was the only way left me to show them the regard I had for, and the sense I had of their unparalleled loyalty.

“Among the manifold mortifications I have had in this unfortunate expedition, that of being forced to burn several villages, etc., as the only expedient left me for the publick security, was not the smallest. It was indeed forced upon me by the violence with which my rebellious subjects acted against me, and what they, as the first authors of it, must be answerable for, not I: however, as I cannot think of leaving this country without making some provision to repair that loss, I have, therefore, consigned to the magistrates of — the sum of —, desiring and requiring of you, if not as an obedient subject, at least as a lover of your country, to take care that it be employed to the designed use, that I may at least have the satisfaction of having been the destruction and ruin of none, at a time I came to free all. Whether you have yet received my letter,<sup>s</sup>

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or what effect it hath had upon you, I am as yet ignorant of; but what will become of these unhappy nations is but too plaine. I have neglected nothing to render them a free and prosperous people; and I fear they will find yet more than I the smart of preferring a foreign yোক to that obedience they owe me; and what must those who have so obstinately resisted both my right and my clemency have to answer for? But however things turn, or Providence is pleased to dispose of me, I shall never abandon my just right, nor the pursuits of it, but with my life; and beseech God so to turn at last the hearts of my subjects, as that they may enjoy peace and happiness by submitting to what their interest and duty equally require of them. As for your own particular, you might, if you had pleased, join interest and greatness in your own person; but, though you have refused to do that, I must earnestly request of you to do at least all in your power to save your country from utter ruin, and to be just at least to them, since you are it not to me.

“<sup>a</sup> I thought to write this in my own hand, but had not time.

“ JAMES R.”

This letter was accompanied by a note of the following letter to General Gordon, written in the Chevalier's own hand: —

“ General Gordon is hereby empowered, as soon as he has no other further occasion for the money left in his hands for the subsistence of the troops, to forward, if he thinks fitt, the enclosed letter to the duke of Argil, and to fill up the blanks of my letter with the name of the town where he shall leave the money, and the summ he shall leave.

“ JAMES R.”

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It was not until the eve of his departure that James thought of selecting the persons he wished to accompany him in his flight, but the near approach of the enemy, of whose motions he had just received intelligence, and the murmurings and jealousies of his troops compelling him to hasten his departure, he was narrowed in his choice, as some of the friends, whose presence he desired, were at some distance from Montrose. The first individual he pitched upon was Mar; but the earl begged that he might be left behind with the army. The Chevalier, however, insisted that he should go; and on representing to him that reasons almost equally strong existed for Mar's departure as for his own, that his friends would make better terms with the government without him than with him, and that his services could be of no use in Scotland under existing circumstances, he gave his consent.

Matters being adjusted, the Chevalier left his lodgings privately about nine o'clock of the evening of the fourth of February, accompanied only by one of his domestics, and having met Mar at his lodgings, they both proceeded by a private way to the beach, where a boat was lying in readiness to receive them, and in which they were carried on board a small French vessel which lay at a little distance from the shore. The boat was immediately sent back, and returned in about a quarter of an hour with the Earl of Melfort, Lord Drummond, and the remainder of the Chevalier's suite. Being favoured with a fresh breeze from the west-southwest, the vessel stood directly out to sea, and after a voyage of five days, arrived in safety at Waldam, near Gravelines in French Flanders.

The insurgents under General Gordon marched to Aberdeen, which they entered on the morning of the sixth of February. Here he communicated to his men

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the paper of instructions he had received from the Chevalier, and which he informed them he had received orders not to open till their arrival at Aberdeen. In this writing the prince complained of the disappointments he had met with, particularly from abroad, and informed the army of the necessity he was under, for his own preservation, to leave the country. He thanked them for having entered so cheerfully into his service, and imputed the failure of the enterprise to the apathy of others, who had not seconded their efforts as they had promised to do. He advised them to consult their own safety by keeping together in a body under General Gordon till he should order them to disperse, and concluded by encouraging them to hope for better times. After reading this document, the general notified to his men that their pay would cease after that day.

General Cadogan arrived at Montrose in the afternoon of the fifth of February with three regiments of foot, and six hundred of Argyle's Highlanders, and the duke reached Brechin with the dragoons the same night. The whole Royalist forces continued their march the following day towards Aberdeen, but they could not overtake the insurgents who were nearly two days' march in advance. The latter left Aberdeen on the seventh, and the Duke of Argyle entered it the following day at the head of four hundred dragoons. The main body of the insurgents, chiefly foot, marched in the direction of Old Meldrum, but a party of about two hundred horse, among whom were many officers and gentlemen volunteers, took the route to Peterhead, where some vessels were lying to carry them to France. The Duke of Argyle, without waiting for the coming up of the rest of his army, immediately sent two hundred dragoons, and a party of foot under Major-General Evans, to cut off the retreat of the latter, but he did not



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overtake them. Upwards of a hundred of the gentlemen composing his party escaped to France.

Meanwhile the insurgents continued their march westwards into Moray, and after marching through Strathspey, retired into Badenoch, where they quietly dispersed. During their retreat, however, many, whose houses lay contiguous to their route, gradually withdrew from the ranks, so that before their arrival in Badenoch a considerable reduction had taken place in their numbers. Though closely pursued by Argyle's troops, the insurgents did not lose a hundred men during the whole retreat, so well and orderly was it conducted by the Jacobite commander.

After the dispersion of the insurgents, about 160 officers and gentlemen volunteers who had followed the army into the Highlands, hearing that two French frigates, destined to receive on board such of the adherents of the Chevalier as might be inclined to retire abroad, had arrived off the Orkney coast, sallied from the hills on horseback, and crossing the low country of Moray embarked in boats at Burgh-head, and landed in Caithness. From Caithness they proceeded to the Orkney Islands, where they had the good fortune to reach the French ships which carried them to Gottenburg. Among this party were Lord Duffus, who, being a seaman, entered into the naval service of the King of Sweden, Sir George Sinclair, Sir David Threipland of Fingask, and General Eckline. Most of these refugees entered into the Swedish army then about to invade Norway.

Thus ended an enterprise badly contrived, and conducted throughout without sufficient judgment or energy. Yet notwithstanding the disadvantages under which it was attempted, it might have succeeded, if the efforts of the Scottish Jacobites had been seconded by the Jacobites of England; but the latter, though



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decidedly hostile to the House of Brunswick, were not inclined to risk their lives and fortunes in a doubtful contest, in support of the pretensions of a prince known to them only by name, and to whose religion many of them felt a deep-rooted repugnance.

## CHAPTER VIII

### EXECUTIONS FOR TREASON

AFTER the flight and dispersion of the insurgents, the Duke of Argyle returned to Edinburgh about the end of February, where he was magnificently entertained by the magistrates of the city, whence he set off for London on the first of March. He had left instructions with General Cadogan to keep up a communication with the Whig leaders in the north, and to distribute the troops in quarters contiguous to the adjoining Highlands, that they might be the more readily assembled to repress any fresh insurrection which might break out. To keep some of the disaffected districts in check, parties of Highlanders were placed by Lord Lovat and Brigadier Grant, in Brahan castle, and in Erchles and Borlum; the former the seat of the Chisholm, the latter that of Brigadier Mackintosh.

The fate of the prisoners taken at Preston remains now to be told. The first who were tried were Lord Charles Murray, Captain Dalziel, brother to the Earl of Carnwath, Major Nairne, Captain Philip Lockhart, brother to Lockhart of Carnwath, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign Nairne. These six were tried before a court-martial at Preston, and all, with the exception of Captain Dalziel, having been proved to have been officers in the service of government, were condemned to be shot. Lord Charles Murray received a pardon through the interest of his friends. The remainder suffered on the second of December, 1715.

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The English Parliament met on the ninth of January. Immediately on the return of the Commons from the House of Lords, where they had been hearing the speech from the throne, they agreed, on the motion of Mr. Lechmere, to impeach Lords Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, and Kenmure, of high treason. The articles of impeachment were carried up to the lords the same night, and on the next day these peers were brought to the bar of the House of Lords to hear the articles of impeachment read. They were brought back from the Tower on the nineteenth, when they all pleaded guilty to the charge of high treason, except the Earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time to give in his answers. The rest received sentence of death on the ninth of February, in Westminster Hall. The Countess of Nithsdale and Lady Nairne surprised the king as he was passing through his apartments at St. James's, and throwing themselves at his feet implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands; but he turned away from them with contemptuous indifference. The Countess of Derwentwater was equally unsuccessful, though introduced by the Dukes of Richmond and St. Albans into the king's bedchamber, and accompanied by the Duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton.

This refusal on the part of the king raised up a number of advocates in both houses of Parliament, in behalf of the unfortunate noblemen. Availing themselves of this feeling, the ladies of the condemned lords, accompanied by about twenty others of equal rank, waited in the lobby of the House of Peers, and at the door of the House of Commons, and solicited the intercession of both houses. Next day they petitioned the houses. The commons rejected the application, and to get quit of further importunity adjourned for six or seven days, by a small majority; but the result was

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different in the House of Lords. Petitions, craving the intercession of that house, were presented from the condemned peers, which being read, after considerable opposition, a motion was made to address his Majesty to grant them a reprieve. This occasioned a warm debate; but before the vote was taken, an amendment was proposed to the effect, that his Majesty should reprieve such of the peers as should seem to deserve his mercy. It was contended by the supporters of the original address, that the effect of this amendment would be to destroy the nature of the address, as from the nature of the sentence which had been passed, none of the condemned peers could *deserve* mercy; but the amendment was substituted, and on the vote being taken, whether the address should be presented, it was carried *present*, by a majority of five votes. It is said that on one of the peers afterward observing to the mover of the amendment, that it looked as if its object was to defeat the vote, and make it of no use to the persons for whose benefit it was intended, the proposer observed, that such was his intention in moving it.

The king was evidently chagrined at the conduct of the house, and when the address was presented, he informed the deputation, that on this as on all other occasions he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown, and the safety of his people. The Earl of Nottingham, president of the council, who had supported the petitions of the condemned lords, together with Lord Aylesford, his brother, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Lord Finch, his son, one of the lords of the treasury, and Lord Guernsey, master of the jewel office, were all removed from office; and to show the determination of the king, orders were issued on the same day the address was delivered, for executing the Earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale,

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and Viscount Kenmure the following day. The other three peers were reprieved to the seventh of March. The Earl of Nithsdale made his escape the night before the execution, dressed in female attire, which his mother, and some other ladies who paid him a visit, had provided. When the king heard of his escape next morning, he observed, that "it was the best thing a man in his condition could have done."

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of February the Earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure were beheaded on Tower Hill. On ascending the scaffold, Derwentwater knelt down, and having spent some time in prayer, he got up, and drawing a paper out of his pocket, read aloud as follows:—

"Being in a few minutes to appear before the tribunal of God, where, though most unworthy, I hope to find mercy, which I have not found from men now in power, I have endeavoured to make my peace with his Divine Majesty, by most humbly begging pardon for all the sins of my life. And I doubt not of a merciful forgiveness through the merits of the passion and death of my Saviour, Jesus Christ; for which end I earnestly desire the prayers of all good Christians.

"After this I am to ask pardon of those whom I might have scandalized by pleading guilty at my trial. Such as were permitted to come to me told me, that having been undeniably in arms, pleading guilty was but the consequence of having submitted to mercy; and many arguments were used to prove that there was nothing of moment in so doing; among others, the universal practice of signing leases, whereof the preambles run in the name of the person in possession.

"But I am sensible that in this I have made bold

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with my loyalty, having never any other but King James the Third for my rightful and lawful sovereign; him I had an inclination to serve from my infancy, and was moved thereto by a natural love I had to his person, knowing him to be capable of making his people happy; and though he had been of a different religion from mine, I should have done for him all that lay in my power, as my ancestors have done for his predecessors; being thereunto bound by the laws of God and man.

“Wherefore, if in this affair I have acted rashly, it ought not to affect the innocent. I intended to wrong no body, but to serve my king and country, and that without self-interest; hoping by the example I gave, to have induced others to their duty; and God, who sees the secrets of my heart, knows I speak truth. Some means have been proposed to me for saving my life, which I looked upon as inconsistent with honour and conscience, and therefore I rejected them; for with God’s assistance I shall prefer any death to the doing a base unworthy action. I only wish now that the laying down my life might contribute to the service of my king and country, and the re-establishment of the ancient and fundamental constitution of these kingdoms, without which no lasting peace or true happiness can attend them; then I should indeed part with life even with pleasure. As it is, I can only pray that those blessings may be bestowed upon my dear country; and, since I can do no more, I beseech God to accept of my life as a small sacrifice towards it.

“I die a Roman Catholic. I am in perfect charity with all the world; I thank God for it, even with those of the present government, who are most instrumental in my death. I freely forgive such as ungenerously reported false things of me; and I hope to be forgiven



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the trespasses of my youth by the Father of infinite mercy, into whose hand I commend my soul.

“JA. DERWENTWATER.

“P. S. If that prince who now governs had given me my life, I should have thought myself obliged never more to have taken up arms against him.”

After he had finished reading the paper, he delivered it to the sheriff in attendance, who had requested it, and then repeated several penitential portions of scripture. Turning to the executioner, who solicited his forgiveness, he told him that he forgave all his enemies, even the most malicious of them, with all his heart, and that he forgave him. He thereupon informed the executioner that he would find something he intended for him in his pocket (two half broad pieces), and that he would receive something additional from a gentleman who held the earl's hat and wig. He then viewed the block, and observing a rough place in it, he desired the executioner to chip it off. The extraordinary presence of mind which he displayed astonished the spectators. He knelt a second time and prayed, and on rising up pulled off his coat and waistcoat. After telling the executioner that the sign he should give was, “Lord Jesus receive my soul,” and that on his repeating these words the third time he was to do his office, the earl laid his head upon the block, which, on the given signal, was severed from his body at one blow. The executioner, lifting up the head, raised it with both his hands, and walking round the scaffold, cried with a loud voice, “Behold the head of a traitor; God save King George.”

Thus perished, in the flower of his age, James, Earl of Derwentwater, a man of the most amiable disposition, “brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane.

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His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate; the poor, the widow, and the orphan rejoiced in his bounty." It is almost impossible to contemplate, even at this distance of time, the unhappy fate of such a man without the deepest emotion. It was reported that the night before his execution he sent for an undertaker to arrange his funeral, whom he requested to put a silver plate on his coffin, with an inscription importing that he died a sacrifice for his lawful sovereign, but the undertaker refusing to execute the commission was thereupon dismissed.

As soon as the remains of the Earl of Derwentwater were removed, the Viscount Kenmure was brought up to the scaffold. He was accompanied by several friends and two clergymen of the church of England, of which church he was a member. He also displayed great firmness and resolution, and spent some time in earnest prayer, in which his friends and the clergymen joined. He observed, that he had so little thoughts of dying so soon that he had not provided a black suit, that he was sorry for this, as he might have died with more decency. Like Derwentwater, he expressed his regret for pleading guilty to the charge of high treason, and prayed for "King James." At taking a last farewell of his friends he embraced them all most tenderly. He presented the executioner with eight guineas, and, after trying the block by laying down his head upon it, told him that he would not give him any sign, but when he laid down his head again he might execute his office as he saw fit. After praying a short time with uplifted hands, he advanced to the fatal block, and laying down his head, the executioner struck it off at two blows. He thereupon exposed it to the view of

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the spectators, using the same exclamation as before. Lord Kenmure brought no paper to the scaffold with him, but shortly after his death a letter which he had written to the Chevalier was published, wherein he declared that he died for his faithful services to him, but hoped the cause he died for would flourish after his death. In this letter he maintained the title of "the person called the Pretender, whom he believed to be the true son of James the Second."

The Earl of Wintoun, on various frivolous pretences, got his trial postponed till the fifteenth day of March, when he was brought finally up for trial. The earl, after a trial which occupied two days, was found guilty, and received sentence of death; but his lordship afterward made his escape from the Tower and fled to France.

On the seventh of April a commission for trying the other rebels met in the court of Common Pleas, Westminster, when bills of high treason were found against Mr. Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, Colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Menzies of Culdares, and seven of their associates, and on the tenth bills were found against eleven more. Forster escaped from Newgate, and so well had his friends concerted matters, that he reached Calais in less than twenty-four hours. The trials of Brigadier Mackintosh and others were fixed for the fourth of May, but about eleven o'clock the preceding night, the brigadier and fifteen other prisoners broke out of Newgate, after knocking down the keepers and disarming the sentinels. Eight were retaken, but Mackintosh and seven others escaped. The trials of the prisoners who remained proceeded. Many of them were found guilty; and five, among whom were Colonel Oxburgh and Mr. Paul, a non-jurant clergyman of the church of England, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. Twenty-

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two prisoners were executed in Lancashire. The remainder of the prisoners taken at Preston, amounting to upwards of seven hundred, submitted to the king's mercy, and having prayed for transportation, were sold as slaves to some West India merchants; a cruel proceeding, when it is considered that the greater part of these men were Highlanders, who had joined in the insurrection in obedience to the commands of their chiefs.

The severities exercised by the government, and the courage and fortitude displayed by the unfortunate sufferers, wrought an extraordinary change in the dispositions of the people, who began to manifest great dissatisfaction at proceedings so revolting to humanity. Though the rebellion was extinguished, the spirit which had animated it still remained; and the Tories longed for an opportunity of availing themselves of the universal dissatisfaction to secure a majority favourable to their views at the next general election. The Whigs, afraid of the result of an early election as destructive to themselves as a party and to the liberties of the country, had recourse to a bold measure, which nothing but the most urgent necessity could justify. This was no other than a plan to repeal the triennial act, and to prolong the duration of Parliament. It is said that at first they intended to suspend the triennial act for one election only, but thinking that a temporary measure would appear a greater violation of constitutional law than a permanent one, they resolved to extend the duration of Parliament to seven years. A bill was accordingly brought into the House of Lords on the tenth of April by the Duke of Devonshire, whose father had been one of the chief promoters of the triennial act.

The reasons on which the bill was grounded were

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stated in the preamble of the bill. In the first place it was stated, that the triennial act had proved "very grievous and burdensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued expenses, in order to elections of members to serve in Parliament, and more violent and lasting heats and animosities among the subjects of this realm, than were ever known before the said clause was enacted;" and secondly, that if continued, it might probably "at this juncture, when a restless and Popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom, and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and security of the government."

The bill was supported by the Earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the Duke of Argyle, Lord Townshend, and others. On the second reading a long debate ensued, when the bill was opposed by the whole strength of the Tory party. On a division, the commitment was carried by ninety-six votes to sixty-one. So great was the interest excited by the debate, that the House of Lords was crowded with strangers, among whom were the Princess of Wales, a number of ladies of rank, many members of the House of Commons, and several foreigners of distinction.

After the resolution to commit the bill had been adopted, a protest was entered, signed by thirty peers, to which protest they annexed their reasons. As the repeal of the septennial act may soon become a subject of discussion in the reformed Parliament, it is thought that the grounds urged against its adoption will not be unacceptable to the general reader. These are as follows:

"1. Because we conceive that frequent and new parliaments are required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and the practice thereof for many ages



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(which manifestly appears by our records) is a sufficient evidence and proof of this constitution.

“ 2. Because it is agreed that the House of Commons must be chosen by the people, and when so chosen, they are truly the representatives of the people, which they cannot be so properly said to be when continued for a longer time than that for which they were chosen; for after that time they are chosen by the Parliament and not by the people, who are thereby deprived of the only remedy which they have against those who either do not understand, or through corruption, do wilfully betray the trust reposed in them, which remedy is to choose better men in their places.

“ 3. Because the reasons given for this bill we conceive were not sufficient to induce us to pass it, in subversion of so essential a part of our constitution.

“ 1. For as to the argument that this will encourage the princes and states of Europe to enter into alliances with us, we have not heard any one minister assert that any one prince or state has asked, or so much as insinuated that they wished such an alteration.

“ Nor is it reasonable to imagine it; for it cannot be expected that any prince or state can rely upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who shall be thought to have given up so great a part of their own; nor can it be prudent for them to wish such an experiment after the experience that Europe has had of the great things this nation has done for them, under the constitution which is to be altered by this bill.

“ But on the other hand, they may be deterred from entering into measures with us, when they shall be informed, by the preamble of this bill, that the popish faction is so dangerous as that it may be destructive to the peace and security of the government; and may apprehend from this bill, that the government is so



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weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety, which seems to imply that the gentlemen of Britain are not to be trusted or relied upon; and that the good affections of the people are restrained to so small a number, as that of which the present House of Commons consists.

“ 2. We conceive this bill is so far from preventing expenses and corruptions, that it will rather increase them; for the longer a Parliament is to last, the more valuable to be purchased is a station in it, and the greater also is the danger of corrupting the members of it; for if there should be a ministry who shall want a parliament to screen them from the just resentment of the people, or from a discovery of their ill practices to the king, who cannot otherwise, or so truly, be informed of them as by a free parliament. It is so much the interest of such a ministry to influence the elections (which, by their authority and the disposal of the public money, they, of all others, have the best means of doing) that it is to be feared they will be tempted, and not fail, to make use of them; and even when the members are chosen, they have a greater opportunity of inducing every man to comply with them than they could have, if not only the sessions of parliament, but the parliament itself, were reduced to the ancient and primitive constitution and practice of frequent and new parliaments; for as a good ministry will neither practise nor need corruption, so it cannot be any lord's intent to provide for the security of a bad one.

“ 3. We conceive, that whatever reasons may induce the lords to pass this bill, to continue this Parliament for seven years, will be at least as strong, and may, by the conduct of the ministry, be made much stronger before the end of seven years for continuing it still longer, and even to perpetuate it, which would be an

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express and absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm."

On the sixteenth of April the bill was read a third time, and passed by a majority of sixty-nine votes to thirty-six. Twenty-four peers thereupon entered another protest. The bill was carried down to the House of Commons by two of the judges on the nineteenth. Though favourable to the bill, Mr. Lechmere opposed its introduction on the ground that it should have originated in the House of Commons. He said he considered the bill as an imposition upon the commons, as the lords had taken upon them to direct the house in an affair which wholly belonged to the commons, who were the guardians of the rights and liberties of the people. The first reading was, however, carried in a house of 430 members by a majority of 120 votes.

Before the second reading, petitions were presented against the measure from the boroughs of Marlborough, Midhurst, Abingdon, New-castle-under-Line, from the town of Hastings, and the corporation of Cambridge. More would have been presented if time had been allowed. The apathy of the people at this crisis is astonishing. On a division of the second reading, there appeared 284 for the bill, and 162 against it. The bill was read a third time on the twenty-sixth of April, when some additional petitions were presented against it, and passed by a majority of 143 votes in a house of 385 members. This bill received the royal assent on the seventh of May, on which day an act of attainder against the Earl Marischal, Seaforth, Southesk, Panmure, and others, also received his Majesty's sanction. An act of attainder against the Earl of Mar, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl of Linlithgow, Lord Drummond, and other leaders of the insurrection, had received the royal assent on the seventeenth of February preced-

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ing. Besides these bills, three others were passed, one attainting Mr. Forster and Brigadier Mackintosh; another for more effectually securing the peace of the Highlands; a third appointing Commissioners to inquire into the estates of those persons who had been attainted or convicted.

While the Parliament was thus engaged in devising measures for maintaining the public tranquillity, General Cadogan was employed in dispersing some hostile bands of the clans which still continued to assemble with their chiefs in the remoter parts of the Highlands. Hearing that the Earl of Seaforth had retired into the Island of Lewis, where he had collected a considerable body of his men under the command of Brigadier Campbell of Ormundel, an officer who had just arrived from Muscovy, where he had served in the army of the czar, he sent a detachment into the island under the command of Colonel Cholmondely to reduce it. The earl, on the appearance of this force, crossed into Ross-shire, whence he escaped to France; and Campbell, being abandoned by his men after he had formed them in order of battle, was taken prisoner while standing in a charging posture. Another detachment under Colonel Clayton, was sent into the Isle of Skye, where Sir Donald Macdonald was at the head of about a thousand men; but the chief made no resistance, and, having no assurance of protection from the government in case of a surrender, retired into one of the Uists, where he remained till he obtained a ship which carried him to France. About this time three ships arrived among the Western Islands from France with military supplies for the use of the insurgents, but they came too late to be of any service. Two of them, after taking seventy gentlemen on board, immediately returned to France, and the third, which carried fifty chests of small arms, and fifteen barrels of

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gunpowder, and other military stores, was captured while at anchor near Uist by an English ship of war.

In consequence of instructions from government, General Cadogan issued an order, which was intimated at the different parish churches in the north, requiring the rebels to surrender themselves and to deliver up their arms, assuring them that such of them as complied should have liberty granted to return home in safety, but threatening to punish rigorously those who refused to comply. This order was generally obeyed by the common people in the Lowlands, who had been engaged in the insurrection; but few of the Highlanders seemed to regard it. To enforce compliance, he despatched different detachments through the Highlands, and took up his quarters at Blair Athol, where he could more easily communicate with the disaffected districts. He next removed to Ruthven in Badenoch, and afterward proceeded to Inverness, where he received Glengarry's submission. Lochiel, Keppoch, and Clanranald had resolved to oppose by force the delivery of their arms; but on hearing that Clayton, who had returned from Skye, had resolved to march from Fortwilliam to Lochiel's house to disarm the Camerons, these chiefs retired, and their men delivered up their arms without resistance. Having succeeded in disarming the Highlands, the general left Inverness on the twenty-seventh of April, leaving General Sabine in command, and proceeded to London. The rebellion being now considered completely extinguished, the Dutch auxiliaries were withdrawn from Scotland, and in a short time thereafter were embarked for Holland.

To try the prisoners confined in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Blackness, and other places in Scotland, a commissioner of oyer and terminer was appointed to sit at Carlisle in December, 1716. There were nearly seventy

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arraigned. Of twenty-nine who were brought to trial, twenty-five pled guilty. Brigadier Campbell of Ormunda, Tulloch of Tannachie, Stewart of Foss, and Stewart of Glenbuckie entered a plea of not guilty. The two last having satisfied the solicitor-general of their innocence, he allowed a writ of *noli prosequi* to be entered in their behalf, and Campbell having escaped from the castle of Carlisle, Tulloch alone stood his trial, but he was acquitted. Sentence of death was passed upon the twenty-five who had admitted their guilt, and thirty-six were discharged for want of evidence; but the sentence of death was never put into execution. It was wise in the government to pacify the national disaffection by showing mercy.

Following up the same humane view, an act of grace was passed in 1717 by the king and both houses of Parliament, granting a free and general pardon to all persons who had committed any treasonable offences, before the sixth day of May of that year, with the exception of those who, having committed such offences, had gone beyond the seas, and who, before the said sixth day of May, had returned into Great Britain or Ireland without his Majesty's license, or who should on or after the said day return into either of the kingdoms without such license. All persons of the name and clan of Macgregor mentioned in the act of the first Parliament of Charles the First, intituled, "Anent the Clan Gregor," were also excepted, as well as all such persons as should, on the fifth day of May, 1717, remain attainted for high treason. But all such persons so attainted, unless specially named, and who had not escaped out of prison, were freely pardoned and discharged. Under this act the Earl of Carnwath, and Lords Widdrington and Nairne, were delivered from the Tower; seventeen persons confined in Newgate, the prisoners still remaining



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in the castles of Lancaster and Carlisle; and those in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and other places in Scotland, including the Lords Strathallan and Rollo, were likewise released.

While the Chevalier was preparing to embark for Scotland, the Earl of Stair (the ambassador at the court of France) had used every effort to prevent him. Duclos and others say that Stair not only applied to the Duke of Orleans, the regent, to have the Chevalier arrested, but that finding the regent insincere in his promises of compliance, he sent persons to assassinate the Chevalier on the road when crossing France to embark for Scotland. That Stair made such an application, and that he employed spies to watch the progress of the prince, are circumstances highly probable; but both Marshal Berwick and the Earl of Mar discredited the last part of the story, as they considered Stair incapable of ordering an action so atrocious as the assassination of the prince.

On the return of the Chevalier, Stair, afraid that he and his partisans in France would intrigue with the court, presented a memorial to the regent in name of his Britannic Majesty, in which, after notifying the flight of the Chevalier, and the dispersion of his forces, he requested of the regent that he would oblige the prince to quit France. He next insisted that "the authors and chiefs" of the rebellion who had retired to France should be ordered to depart forthwith from France, that they should never again be permitted to return to that country, and that the other persons who had been condemned and declared rebels should not at any time enter or reside therein. The earl also solicited his Royal Highness to join with his Britannic Majesty, in an application to the Duke of Lorraine to prohibit the Chevalier from returning into his territory.



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Finally, as the regent had made a declaration, that the officers in the service of France who should follow "the Pretender" in the invasion of Great Britain should be broke, the King of Great Britain persuaded himself that his Royal Highness, the regent, would not suffer the officers who had followed and assisted the prince ever to be employed again in the service of France. The removal of the Jacobite exiles from the French court was all that the earl could at that time obtain from the regent. By an agreement, however, which was shortly thereafter entered into between France and England, mutually guaranteeing the succession to the crown of France, and the Hanover succession according to the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht, it was stipulated that the Pretender should be sent beyond the Alps, and should never be allowed to return again to France or Lorraine on any pretence whatever, and that none of the rebellious subjects of Great Britain should be allowed to reside in France.

After the suppression of the insurrection, the leading supporters of government in Scotland repaired to London to congratulate George the First on the success of his arms, and to obtain the rewards they expected. The Duke of Argyle, to whose exertions chiefly the king was indebted for his peaceable accession to the throne, and the extinction of the rebellion, was already so overloaded with favours that he could scarcely expect any addition to be made to them, and would probably have been contented with those he had obtained; but the squadron party, which had been long endeavouring to ruin him, now made every exertion to get him disgraced; and being assisted by the Marlborough faction, and a party which espoused the interests of Cadogan, they succeeded with the king, who dismissed the duke and his brother, the Earl of Ilay, from all their employ-

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ments, which were conferred on others. General Carpenter, to whom the success at Preston was entirely ascribed, succeeded Argyle in the chief command of the forces in North Britain; and the Duke of Montrose was appointed lord-register of Scotland in the room of the Earl of Ilay.

The aspect of affairs in the north of Europe requiring the king's presence in his German dominions, an act was passed repealing the clause in the act for the further limitation of the crown, which restricted the sovereign from leaving his British dominions. He closed the session on the twenty-sixth of June, and embarked at Gravesend on the seventh of July for Holland, where he arrived on the ninth. He proceeded to Loo *incognito*, and from thence set out for Pymont. The object of this visit will appear from what follows.

Although Spain had been greatly exhausted by the war of the succession, Philip the Fifth, eager for glory, was desirous of engaging in a war with the emperor, who refused to resign the title of king of Spain, for the recovery of the Italian dominions of Spain; but his minister, Alberoni, was opposed to an immediate rupture, and pledged himself, that if Philip would maintain his kingdom in peace for five years, — a period required by Alberoni for reforming all the departments of the government, and rousing the nation from the apathy into which it had sunk, he would make him the most powerful monarch in Europe. Philip, impatient of delay, refused to hearken to the advice of his minister. As Spain could not, with any reasonable prospect of success, carry on a war single handed, Alberoni looked round among the leading powers for an ally who would second the views of his royal master. With France he could not expect to form an alliance, as the interests of the regent and Philip were diametrically opposed, each

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aspiring to the throne of that kingdom. He therefore fixed his eyes upon England and Holland as the powers most likely to aid him. With England, it is true, some differences existed, but these the wily Alberoni resolved at once to remove by conceding everything that England could reasonably desire. The commerce of England with Spain had been placed in a very unfavourable situation by some explanatory articles in the Treaty of Utrecht, but on the offer of Alberoni, these were abrogated by a new treaty in December, 1715, which restored England to the commercial advantages which she had enjoyed under the Austrian princes. This proceeding received the cordial sanction of Philip, who, on being remonstrated with by the Cardinal del Giudice for such a change of policy, remarked, "I consider the King of England as my brother, and am determined to live in friendship with him. Let me hear no more on this subject." Philip even went so far as to sign a declaration, in which he stated his determination to give no support to the Chevalier de St. George and his adherents.

Hitherto Alberoni had kept his object out of view, but an attack made by the Emperor of Germany upon the republic of Genoa afforded him an opportunity of breaking the ice. Against the emperor's violation of the neutrality of Italy Alberoni made a warm appeal to the King of Great Britain as the guarantee of that neutrality, and in this appeal he was backed by the English minister at Madrid, who informed his cabinet, that, in his opinion, if the states of Parma and Tuscany were guaranteed to the Queen of Spain by England, and an English fleet sent out to support the Spanish squadron in the Mediterranean, Spain would give the most ample guaranty for the Hanover succession, and would promote the commercial interests of England.

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George the First found himself placed in a singular but fortunate situation, by the offers of Spain. Equally courted by France and Spain, he had only to choose between them, and to form that connection which might be most conducive to uphold the Protestant succession and to maintain the peace of Europe, with which the internal peace of Great Britain and the safety of the reigning family were intimately connected. The alliance of the emperor and of France being considered as more likely to secure these advantages than a connection with Spain, the English minister at Madrid was instructed by the cabinet at home to decline the offers of Spain. "His Majesty," said Secretary Stanhope, in his letter to the minister, "is perfectly disposed to enter into a new treaty with the Catholic king, to renew and confirm the past; but the actual situation of affairs does not permit him to form other engagements, which, far from contributing to preserve the neutrality of Italy, would give rise to jealousies tending to disturb it."

To secure the support of the emperor, a treaty was entered into, by which he and the King of England reciprocally agreed to assist each other in the defence of their respective territories. This was followed by the agreement with France, to which allusion has been made, and in January, 1717, a triple alliance was entered into between England, France, and Holland, by which the contracting parties mutually guaranteed to one another the possession of all places respectively held by them. The treaty also contained a guaranty of the Protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as that of the Duke of Orleans to the crown of France.

The King of Spain was greatly exasperated when he first received intelligence of the treaty between the King of England and the emperor, but Alberoni still continued

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to court the good-will of England, which he hoped one day to turn to good account. Anxious to preserve the peace of Europe, the parties to the triple alliance, immediately after its ratification, endeavoured to negotiate between Philip and the emperor, but their proposals not being relished by the former, he refused to acquiesce in them, and proceeded with his warlike preparations. Baffled in all his attempts to draw England into an alliance against the emperor, Alberoni looked to the north, where he hoped to find allies in the persons of the King of Sweden and the Czar of Muscovy. Both Peter the Great and Charles the Twelfth were highly incensed against the Elector of Hanover, the former for resisting the attempts of Russia to obtain a footing in the empire, the latter for having joined the confederacy formed against him during his captivity, and for having accepted from the King of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, Swedish possessions, which had been conquered by Denmark during the absence of Charles. Charles, to revenge himself, formed the design of restoring the Stuarts, and by his instructions, Goertz, his minister in England, began to cabal with the English Jacobites, to whom, in name of his master, he promised to grant assistance in any efforts they might make to rid themselves of the elector. It was whispered among the Scottish Jacobites, that "the king," as they termed the Chevalier, had some hopes of prevailing on Charles to espouse his cause, but the first notice on which they could place any reliance was a letter from the Earl of Mar to one Captain Straiton, which he directed to be communicated to the Bishop of Edinburgh, Lord Balmerino, and Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, and in which he suggested, that as there was a great scarcity in Sweden, the friends of the Chevalier should purchase and send five or six thousand bolls



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of meal to that country. Their poverty, however, and the impracticability of collecting and sending such a large quantity of food out of the kingdom, without exciting the suspicions of the government, prevented the plan from being carried into execution. Shortly thereafter, Straiton received another letter from Mar, in which, after stating that there was a design to attempt the restoration of the prince by the aid of a certain foreign sovereign, and that it would look strange if his friends at home did not put themselves in a condition to assist him, he suggested, that as the want of money had been hitherto a great impediment in the way of the Chevalier's success, the persons to whom this and his first letter were to be communicated, should persuade their friends to have in readiness such money as they could procure, to be employed when the proper opportunity offered. Mr. Lockhart, who received a letter from the Chevalier at the same time, undertook the task of acquainting the Chevalier's friends in Scotland with Mar's wish, and obtained assurances from several persons of rank that they would attend to the prince's request. Lord Eglinton in particular made an offer of three thousand guineas, which he signified by letter to the Chevalier.

The intrigues of Goertz, the Swedish minister, being discovered by the government, he was arrested and his papers seized at the desire of King George. This extraordinary proceeding, against which the foreign ministers resident at the British court remonstrated, roused the indignation of Charles to the highest pitch of fury, and being now more determined than ever for carrying his project into effect, he, at the instigation of Alberoni, reconciled himself to the czar, who, in resentment of an offer made by King George to Charles to join against Russia, if the latter would ratify the cession of Bremen



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and Verden, agreed to unite his forces with those of Sweden and Spain for placing "the pretender" on the throne of England. To strengthen the interest of the Chevalier in the north, Alberoni sent the Duke of Ormond into Russia to negotiate a marriage between the son of the Chevalier, and Anne, the daughter of Peter, but this project did not take effect. The Chevalier himself, in the meantime, contracted a marriage with the Princess Clementina Sobieski, but she was arrested at Innsbruck by order of the imperial government, when on her journey to meet her betrothed husband, and sent to a convent.

King George returned to England towards the end of January, 1716. The Parliament met on the twentieth day of February, when he informed them of the projected invasion, and mentioned that he had given orders for laying copies of papers connected therewith before them. From these documents it appeared, that the plan of invasion was ripe for execution, but that it was not intended to attempt it till the Dutch auxiliaries should be sent back to Holland. Both houses presented addresses expressing their horror and indignation at the designs of those who had encouraged an invasion. Similar addresses were presented from the convocation, and from the university of Cambridge; but Oxford was not so pliant. That university had applied for and obtained from the king a dispensation from the ceremony of burning the devil, the pope, the pretender, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Mar, in effigy, on the anniversary of his Majesty's accession, for which mark of favour some of the heads of the university thought they could not do less than address the king on the suppression of the late rebellion and his safe return. But Doctor Smalridge, Bishop of Bristol, objected to the address, on the ground that the rebellion had been

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long suppressed; that there was no precedent for addressing a king upon his return from his German dominions, and that the favour they had received was counter-balanced by quartering a whole regiment upon them; and the university concurred in his views.

In consequence of the conduct of his Swedish Majesty, Parliament passed a bill prohibiting all intercourse with Sweden, and a fleet was despatched to the Baltic under the command of Sir George Byng, to observe the motions of the Swedes; but the death of Charles the Twelfth, who was killed by a cannon ball in the trenches before Frederickshal, dissolved the confederacy between Sweden and Russia.

The only remaining power George the First had now to dread was Spain. In August, 1718, Sir George Byng, before any declaration of war was issued, captured or destroyed a large Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean; but the Spaniards carried on the war with vigour in Sicily, which they had invaded, and the court of Madrid sent orders to all the ports of Spain and of the West Indies, to fit out privateers against the English. The Parliament met on the eleventh of November, on which day addresses of congratulation were moved in both houses on account of Admiral Byng's victory, but a strong opposition was made to the motion, on the ground that the houses were called upon to sanction proceedings, which, upon inquiry, might turn out to be contrary to the law of nations. The addresses were, however, carried by considerable majorities. War was declared against Spain in December; but a respectable minority in Parliament, and the nation at large, were opposed to it, as hurtful to the commercial interests of Great Britain. France also followed the same course, and a French army of thirty thousand men, under Marshal Berwick, entered Spain and laid siege to Fuenterrabia,

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St. Sebastian, and Urgel, which surrendered in succession. The marshal next laid siege to Roses, but he was obliged to abandon the enterprise from the badness of the weather and other causes, and after placing his troops in winter-quarters, returned to Paris.

The war with Spain revived the hopes of the Jacobites, and the Duke of Ormond repaired to Madrid, where he held conferences with Alberoni and concerted an invasion of Great Britain. The Dutch, alarmed at Ormond's appearance at Madrid, remonstrated with Alberoni, as they had guaranteed the Protestant succession, which might be endangered if an insurrection in favour of the Chevalier de St. George was encouraged by Spain; but the cardinal assured them that the duke had no other design in coming into Spain but to consult his personal safety. Meanwhile, under the pretence of sending reinforcements into Sicily, preparations were made at Cadiz and in the ports of Galicia, for the projected invasion, and the Chevalier himself quitted Urbino by stealth, and embarking at Nettuno, landed at Cagliari in March, 1719. From thence he took his passage to Roses in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was cordially received and treated as King of Great Britain. On the tenth of March, 1719, a fleet consisting of ten men-of-war and twenty-one transports, having on board five thousand men, a great quantity of ammunition, and thirty thousand muskets, sailed from Cadiz, with instructions to join the rest of the expedition at Corunna, and to make a descent at once upon England and Ireland. The Duke of Ormond was appointed commander of the fleet, with the title of captain-general of his most Catholic Majesty; and he was provided with declarations in the name of the king, stating, that for many good

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reasons he had sent forces into England and Scotland to act as auxiliaries to King James.

To defeat this attempt the allied cabinets adopted the necessary measures. His Britannic Majesty having communicated to both houses of Parliament the advices he had received respecting the projected invasion, they gave him every assurance of support, and requested him to augment his forces by sea and land. He offered a reward of £10,000 to any one who should apprehend the Duke of Ormond. Troops were ordered to assemble in the north and west of England, and a strong squadron, under Admiral Norris, was equipped and sent out to sea to meet the Spanish fleet. The Dutch furnished two thousand men, and six battalions of Imperialists were sent from the Austrian Netherlands; and the Duke of Orleans ordered ships to be prepared at Brest to join the English fleet, and made an offer of twenty battalions for the service of King George.

The expedition under Ormond, with the exception of two frigates, never reached its destination, having been dispersed and disabled, off Cape Finisterre, by a violent storm which lasted twelve days. These two ships reached the coast of Scotland, and had on board the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, some field officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. This small force landed in the western Highlands, and was joined by some Highlanders, chiefly Seaforth's men. The other Jacobite clans, with the disappointment they formerly experienced from France still fresh in their recollection, resolved not to move till the whole forces under Ormond should arrive. A difference arose between the Earl Marischal and the Marquis of Tullibardine about the command, but this dispute was put an end to by the advance of General Wightman from Inverness,

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with a body of regular troops. The Highlanders and their allies had taken possession of the pass at Glen-shiel; but, on the approach of the government forces, they retired to the pass at Strachell, which they resolved to defend. General Wightman attacked and drove them, after a smart action and after sustaining some loss, from one eminence to another, when night put an end to the combat. The Highlanders, seeing no chance of making a successful resistance, dispersed, during the night, among the mountains, and the Spaniards, on the following day, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with the other officers, retired to the Western Isles, and thereafter escaped to the continent.

## CHAPTER IX

### DEATH OF GEORGE I

ALTHOUGH the Chevalier still had many adherents in the south of Scotland, yet, as they were narrowly watched by the government, it was considered inexpedient and unsafe to correspond with them on the subject of the Spanish expedition. In the state of uncertainty in which they were thus kept, they wisely abstained from committing themselves, and when Marschal landed they were quite unprepared to render him any assistance, and unanimously resolved not to move in any shape till a rising should take place in England in favour of the Chevalier. But this prudent resolution was well-nigh marred by the following singular incident:—About the time the Spanish fleet was expected to have arrived upon the coast, an unknown person, who represented himself as a servant of Cameron of Lochiel, waited upon one Mills, tutor to young Glengary, at Edinburgh, and informed him that he had come from Spain, and had just been landed on the coast of Galloway from the Duke of Ormond's fleet as it had passed by, and that he had been commissioned to go north and acquaint his master's friends to hold themselves in readiness to take up arms. Mills carried this person to one Captain Straiton, a zealous Jacobite, who gave full credit to the statement, in which he was afterward confirmed by a letter sent to him by express by the Viscount of Stormont, then at his house in Annandale, informing him that five or six days before

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the date of his letter, a large squadron of tall ships, which he had no doubt was Ormond's fleet, had passed along the Galloway coast, sailing with a fair wind directly for the west coast of England. On receiving the viscount's letter, Straiton sent off an express to Lord Nairne in Perthshire, informing him that the Duke of Ormond was on the coast, and had certainly landed by that time, and requesting his lordship to forward the glad intelligence to Lord Marischal and other proper persons in the Highlands, that no time might be lost in summoning the Highlanders to the field. The news having been also communicated by Straiton to some persons in and about Edinburgh, the Earl of Dalhousie and some other gentlemen of the county got on horseback with the intention of joining Ormond, as they saw no possibility of reaching Marischal; but Lockhart of Carnwath, who doubted the intelligence, prevailed on Dalhousie to remain at Selkirk, under the pretence of attending the races, till he should inquire into its truth. The result was, that the whole affair turned out to be a pure fabrication, evidently got up by the emissaries of the government to entrap the Jacobite chiefs. By this timely interference on the part of Lockhart, many families were saved from ruin, as he immediately apprised those who were ready to rise, of the deception which had been practised.

As many inconveniences had arisen from a want of cooperation among the friends of the Chevalier in the south of Scotland, Mr. Lockhart, in concert with the Bishop of Edinburgh, proposed to James that the Earls of Eglinton and Wigton, Lord Balmerino, the Bishop of Edinburgh (the head of the nonjuring clergy), Mr. Paterson of Prestonhall, and Captain Straiton, should be appointed commissioners or trustees for transacting his affairs in Scotland. This proposal was

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well received by the Chevalier, who sent the following letter to Lockhart on the occasion: —

*“ February 15th, 1720.*

“ I saw a few days agoe a paper you sent hither for my perusal, in which I remarked with pleasure that same good sense and affection for me I always found in you, and of which I am truly sensible. I am entirely convinced of the advantage it would be to my affairs, that some persons of weight and prudence should frequently confer together, and communicate to me their opinion and reflections on matters, and at the same time, on proper occasions, give such advice to the rest of my friends as might conduce to our common good. To appoint a certain number of persons for this effect by commission, is by no means, at this time, adviseable, because of the inconveniencies it might draw, sooner or later, upon the persons concern'd; since it could not but be expected that the present government would, at long run, be inform'd of such a paper which, by its nature, must be known to a great number of people; besides, that many who might be most fitt to discharge such a trust might, with reason, not be fond of having their names exposed in such a matter; while, on the other hand, numbers might be disobligh'd for not having a share where it is not possible all can be concern'd; but I think all these inconveniences may be obviated, the intent of the proposal comply'd with, and equall advantages drawn from it if the persons named below, or some of them, would meet and consult together for the intents above-mention'd. The persons you propose I entirely approve, to witt, the Earls of Eglington and Wigton, Lord Balmerino, the Bishop of Edinburgh, Mr. Paterson, and Captain Straiton, to whom I would have added Mr.

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Harry Maul, Sir John Erskine, Lord Dun, Pourie and Glengary. Now, as these gentlemen want, I know, no spur to their zeal for my service, and that out of regard to them I am unwilling to write directly at present to them, I am persuaded that when this letter is communicated to them, they will willingly enter into what is proposed for our mutuall advantage; and to make the thing easier to you, I send a duplicate of this to Straiton, that either by him or you it may be communicated to the persons concern'd, with all that is kind to them in my name; and if any of them are desirous upon occasion to consult others not named in this letter, I shall entirely approve it; but what I desire may be the first point settled, is that of a regular correspondence with me; for which end, if Straiton is not sufficient, I shall approve of any person my friends shall appoint for that effect, as I have already that one Mr. Coopar should be assisting to Straiton on occasions," etc.

Shortly after the receipt of the preceding letter, Mr. Lockhart acquainted the different persons, therein named, of its contents, and all of them undertook to execute the trust reposed in them; but as they judged it advisable to conceal the powers they had received from their friends, they requested Mr. Lockhart, when their advice was wanted, to communicate with them individually, and having collected their sentiments to give the necessary instructions with due cautions. From his name not having been put down in the Chevalier's list, Mr. Lockhart at first declined to act as a trustee; but on being informed that his name had been omitted by mistake, and that it was the Chevalier's intention that he should be one of the number, he undertook the office. No matter, however, of any importance



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seems ever to have been brought under the consideration of these trustees.

In June, 1721, a treaty of peace was signed at Madrid between Great Britain and Spain, and at same time a defensive alliance was entered into between Great Britain, France, and Spain. As the last two were the only powers from whom the "Pretender" could expect any effectual aid in support of his pretensions, his long-wished-for restoration seemed now to be hopeless, and King George secure, as he imagined, from foreign invasion and domestic plots, made preparations for visiting his German dominions, and actually appointed a regency to act in his absence. But early in the year 1722, a discovery was made, on information received by the king from the regent of France, that the Jacobites were busy in a new conspiracy against the government. It appeared that the Chevalier de St. George, who was at Rome, was to sail from Porto Longone for Spain, under the protection of three Spanish men-of-war, and there to wait the resolutions of his friends. In following the clue given by the Duke of Orleans, it was ascertained that all the letters, in relation to the conspiracy, were carried to Mr. George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, who despatched them to their different destinations. The insurrection was to have taken place during the king's absence in Hanover; but his Majesty having deferred his journey in consequence of the discovery of the plot, the conspirators resolved to postpone their attempt till the dissolution of Parliament.

The conspirators finding they were watched by government became extremely cautious, and the ministers, desirous of getting hold of the treasonable correspondence, ordered Kelly, the principal agent, to be arrested. He was accordingly apprehended, but not

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until he had, by keeping his assailants at bay with his sword, succeeded in burning the greater part of his papers. Although the papers which were seized from Kelly, and others which had been intercepted by government, bore evident marks of a conspiracy, yet it became very difficult, from the fictitious names used in them, to trace out the guilty persons. "We are in trace of several things very material," observes Robert Walpole in a letter to his brother, in reference to this discovery, "but we fox-hunters know that we do not always find every fox that we cross upon." Among other persons who were arrested on suspicion, were the Duke of Norfolk, Lords North and Grey, Strafford, and Orrery, Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Harry Goring.

To check the threatened insurrection, a camp was immediately formed in Hyde Park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective regiments. Lieutenant-General Macartney was despatched to Ireland to bring over some troops from that kingdom, and the states of Holland were requested to have their auxiliary troops in readiness for embarkation. These preparations, and the many rumours which prevailed respecting the extent of the conspiracy, affected public credit, and a run took place upon the bank, but the panic soon subsided, and public confidence was restored.

Of all the persons seized of any note, the Bishop of Rochester was the only individual against whom a charge could plausibly be maintained. He was equally noted for his high literary attainments and a warm attachment to the exploded dogma of passive obedience. He had written Sacheverel's defence *con amore*, and he had carried his partisanship for the house of Stuart so far, that, according to Lord Harcourt, he offered, upon the death of Queen Anne, to proclaim

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the Chevalier de St. George at Charing Cross in his lawn sleeves, and when his proposal was declined, he is said to have exclaimed, "Never was a better cause lost for want of spirit." He was identified as one of the conspirators by a trifling circumstance. A dog, mentioned in some of the letters as a present to a person sometimes named Jones and sometimes Illington, was sent from France. A Mrs. Barnes, who was privy to the conspiracy, nowise suspecting that such an insignificant circumstance would lead to detection, freely stated that the dog mentioned in the letters was intended for the Bishop of Rochester. This admission led to a closer examination of the letters, and the result was, that not only the mention of Jones and Illington was found always to agree with this information, but the bishop's illness, the death of his wife, his visits to and departures from London, were all mentioned with the right dates under these feigned names.

After an examination before the Privy Council, the bishop was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. After he had been a fortnight in confinement, Mrs. Morris, the prelate's daughter, presented a petition to the court at the Old Bailey, praying that, in consideration of her father's bad state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, admitted to bail, or discharged, but the petition was rejected. The committal of the bishop was highly resented by the clergy, who considered it as an outrage upon the church of England and the Episcopal order, and they gave full vent to their feelings by offering up public prayers for his health in all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster.

The new Parliament met in the month of October, and the first thing the king did was to announce, by a speech from the throne, the nature of the conspiracy.

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He observed that the conspirators had endeavoured to obtain the aid of foreign powers, but that they had been disappointed in their expectations; that, confiding in their numbers, they had, notwithstanding, resolved once more to attempt to subvert the government; to accomplish which end, they had obtained large sums of money, engaged great numbers of foreign officers, and secured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and that had not the plot been timeously discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion. He dwelt upon the mildness and uprightness of his government, and inveighed against the folly of the disaffected; and he concluded with an assurance that he would steadily adhere to the constitution in church and state, and continue to make the laws the rule and measure of all his actions. This speech was answered by corresponding addresses from both houses. A bill for suspending the habeas corpus act for a whole year was immediately brought into the House of Lords, but as the period of suspension was double of any suspension hitherto known, it met with some opposition. In the commons, however, the opposition was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found himself necessitated to invent a story of a design to seize the bank and the exchequer, and to proclaim the "pretender" on the royal exchange. This ridiculous tale, uttered with the greatest confidence, alarmed the commons, and they passed the bill.

In connection with this conspiracy, the Chevalier de St. George issued a declaration, dated at Luccas, on the twentieth of September same year, addressed to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper, after mentioning the violation of freedom in the late elections,

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pretended conspiracies to serve as a pretext for new oppressions, infamous informers, and the state of proscription under which he alleged every honest British subject lay, he made this extraordinary proposal, that if King George would relinquish to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions. and invite all other states to confirm it. He promised to leave to King George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever it should open to him in the natural course. On the sixteenth of November the king sent to the House of Peers the original and a printed copy of this declaration, signed by the "pretender," for their consideration. The lords unanimously resolved that it was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel, and ordered it to be burned at the Royal Exchange; and the commons concurred in this resolution. An address was also agreed to by both houses, in which they expressed their utmost astonishment and indignation at the insolence of the "pretender," and assuring his Majesty of their determination to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes. As the Catholics were supposed to be chiefly concerned in the conspiracy, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons for raising £100,000 upon the real and personal estates of all "papists," or persons educated in the Catholic religion, towards defraying the expenses incurred by the late rebellion and disorders. This bill, being justly regarded as a species of persecution, was warmly opposed by some members, but it was sent up to the House of Lords along with another bill, obliging all persons, being "papists," in Scotland, and all persons in Great Britain refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. As might have



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been anticipated, both bills were passed without amendments and received the royal assent.

Christopher Layer and the Bishop of Rochester were the only prisoners who were brought to trial. Layer was arraigned on the twenty-first day of November, and, being convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, received sentence of death. With a view to discovery, he was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the House of Commons, but being unwilling or unable to discover the particulars of the conspiracy, he was executed at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple-bar. Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the committee, reported to the house, that from the examination of Layer and others, it appeared that a design had been formed by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the "pretender" on the throne of these realms; that their first object was to obtain a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections, but that being disappointed in this expectation, the conspirators had resolved to make an attempt at the time it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the Duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided in Spain for that purpose, at which time the Tower was to have been seized; that this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, the conspirators deferred their enterprise till the breaking up of the camp, and in the meantime employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the army; that it appeared from several letters and circumstances, that the Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Orrery, Lord North and Grey, and the Bishop

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of Rochester were concerned in this conspiracy; that their acting agents were Christopher Layer and John Plunket, who travelled together to Rome; Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, nonjuring clergymen, Neynne the Irish priest, who had been drowned in the River Thames in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house, Mrs. Spilman, alias Yallop, and John Sample.

On receiving this report the House of Commons passed a resolution declaring that a detestable and horrid conspiracy had existed for raising a rebellion, seizing the Tower and the city of London, laying violent hands upon the sacred persons of his Majesty and the Prince of Wales in order to subvert the constitution in church and state, by placing a popish pretender upon the throne; and that it was formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments in conjunction with traitors abroad. The Duke of Norfolk, who was sent to the Tower, was not brought to trial. John Plunket and George Kelly were imprisoned during his Majesty's pleasure by virtue of bills of pains and penalties, which were passed through Parliament. A bill of a similar nature depriving Atterbury of his bishopric, and banishing him for life without a power in the crown to pardon, was immediately introduced into the House of Commons, though Sir William Wyndham maintained that there was no evidence against him but conjectures and hearsays. The bishop wrote a letter to the speaker, intimating, that though conscious of his innocence, he should decline giving the house any trouble, contenting himself with the opportunity of making his defence before the house of which he had the honour to be a member. The bill was committed on the sixth day of April, when a majority of the Tory members left the house. The

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bill was thereafter passed, only two members having spoken against it.

The bill being carried to the upper house, the bishop was brought up for trial on the ninth of May. The evidence against him consisted entirely of correspondence, not one particle of which was in his own handwriting. The post office clerks had copied and forwarded some letters on the twentieth of April, and on the twentieth of August they had stopped another letter as a sample which they swore to be in the same handwriting as the letters they had copied before. Evidence of an imperfect kind was then brought to show that the sample retained was written by Kelly; and it was conjectured rather than proved, that Kelly had written these letters by the dictation of the bishop. The letters being written in cipher, decipherers were examined to interpret the cipher; but they differed in their explanation of some of the ciphers. The most important point, however, still remained to be proved, — the treasonable nature of the correspondence; but although allusion was made to designs entertained and postponed, there was nothing in the letters to show what these designs were. One of these letters being directed to Jackson, it was maintained, from some doubtful circumstances, that Jackson meant the pretender. "Therefore as it was high treason to correspond with the pretender, a letter to Jackson inferred to be written by Kelly, from a resemblance carried in the memory of the post office clerks during four months, supposed from minute circumstances to be dictated by Atterbury, and believed to be rightly interpreted by the skill of the government decipherers, was argued to be sufficient ground to deprive the bishop of Rochester of his station, property, and country." Such was the conclusion to which the House of Lords came after an able speech by the bishop's counsel

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against the bill, another by the bishop himself, and a third by Earl Cowper in his favour. The bill accordingly passed the lords and received the royal assent. The evidence brought against the bishop was, as a modern writer has justly observed, of a kind hitherto unknown to an English judicature; and we cannot avoid adopting the remark of the same author, that it is mortifying to be obliged to record such a proceeding during the reign of the first sovereign of the house of Hanover. Atterbury was soon sent out of the kingdom under the pain of death in case he should ever again return. It is said that when crossing over to Calais he met Lord Bolingbroke, then on his way to England, whom he thus addressed with a smile, "My lord, you and I are exchanged!"

The return of this extraordinary person to England gave rise to much speculation, and many conjectures were hazarded as to the reasons which had induced Walpole to promote the return of a man whose impeachment he had himself moved; but the mystery has been cleared up by papers which have since met the public eye. From these it appears that several years before his appearance in England, Bolingbroke had completely broken with the Stuarts in consequence of his deprivation of the seals. It seems that the Earl of Mar and the duke had a violent difference with regard to the conduct of the expedition in 1715; and Mar, to revenge himself upon his rival, prevailed upon the Duke of Ormond to report in presence of the Chevalier de St. George certain abusive expressions which Bolingbroke, when in a state of intoxication, had uttered in disparagement of his master. The Chevalier, highly exasperated at Bolingbroke, sent for the seals, at which his lordship was so incensed that when the queen mother attempted to reconcile them, Bolingbroke said that he wished his

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arm might rot off if ever he drew his sword or employed his pen in the service of the Stuarts. He, thereupon, proffered his services to King George, and offered to do anything but betray the secrets of his friends. This offer was followed by the celebrated letter to Sir William Wyndham, in which he dissuaded the Tories from placing any reliance on the pretender, and exposed the exiled family to ridicule and contempt; but his overtures were rejected by the government, and when an act of indemnity was hinted at, Walpole expressed in the strongest terms his indignation at the very idea of such a measure. Bolingbroke, however, persevered; and Walpole having been softened by the entreaties of the Duchess of Kendal, one of the mistresses of the king, to whom Bolingbroke made a present of £11,000, he procured a pardon. In April, 1725, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, for restoring to Bolingbroke his family estate, which, after some opposition, passed both houses.

To secure the peace of the Highlands, a bill was brought into the House of Commons, in the spring of 1725, by the celebrated Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, afterward lord-president of the court of session, for disarming the Highlanders. In this bill there were several clauses which would have been highly injurious to the Highlanders; but, in consequence of the opposition of some of the English members, they were dropped, as was also a clause which prohibited the wearing of the Highland garb. In reference to this bill, Mr. Lockhart makes the following striking observations: "The English ministry, having no hopes of ever bringing the Highlanders over to their measures, looked upon them as a considerable body of brave fellows, inured to arms, that would probably join any enemy, foreign or domestic, that should happen to aim at subverting the present



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settlement of the government, and therefore resolved either to extirpate them, or at least by disarming them, bring them in time to forget the use of arms, and to be of a less warlike disposition, and with such views pushed this bill, and concerted the measures that followed upon it. But whatever considerations moved the English, it was odd that the Duke of Argyle should enter into such projects; the many powers, privileges, jurisdictions, and enlargement of lands (such as no other family enjoyed) were bestowed by the crown as rewards, or more effectually to enable his predecessors to curb the power of the Highland clans, who, under the direction of their chieftains in old times, committed great devastations in the low countries, and even entered into leagues with the kings of England against their native prince; and he, as well as all other men, could not but see that if this formidable power of the Highlanders was removed, he was of less consequence to the government, as there was less use for his service; and though King George by this act was empowered to exempt such as he pleased from being comprehended under it, and that consequently his grace was in no hazard of having his people disarmed, yet what was now done to others, would stand as a precedent for using him and his in the same manner, as it was an English measure, or might be retaliated on him upon an alteration of the ministry, when it might be proper to gratify those that coped with him and his family, and grudged that he and his followers should be in a better state than others. But the truth on't is, this duke hath in all matters acted as if he only considered the present time, and had no regard or concern for futurity."

By an act passed in the first year of George I, "for the more effectual securing the peace of the Highlands in Scotland," it was rendered unlawful for any person

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or persons (except the persons therein mentioned and described, viz., peers of the realm, sons of peers, members of Parliament, and others authorized by his Majesty) within the shires of Dumbarton, on the north side of the water of Leven, Stirling, on the north side of the river of Forth, Perth, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Inverness, Nairne, Cromarty, Argyle, Forfar, Banff, Sutherland, Caithness, Elgin, and Ross, to have in custody, or to use or bear broadsword or target, poniard, whingar, or durk, side-pistol or side-pistols, or gun, or any other warlike weapon in the fields, or in the way coming or going to, from, or at any church, market, fair, burials, huntings, meetings, or any occasion whatsoever within the said bounds, or to come into the low countries armed, as aforesaid.

After a recital of these provisions, it was enacted by the law, now passed, (1) that from time to time the lord-lieutenant of every one of the said shires, or any other person or persons, to be appointed by his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, for that effect, should cause letters or summons to be issued in his Majesty's name, under their respective hands and seals, directed to such of the clans and persons within the said several shires and bounds as they should think fit, commanding and requiring all and every person belonging to such clan or clans, and all and every such other persons therein named, living within the particular limits therein described, on a certain day, in such summons to be named, to bring to and deliver up at a certain place in such summons also to be mentioned, their arms and warlike weapons, to such lord-lieutenants, or other persons, authorized to receive the same; and if, on the expiration of the day appointed for delivery, any persons belonging to the clan or clans, or any other persons named in the summons, should be convicted on evidence of having

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or bearing any arms or warlike weapons, after the day mentioned in the summons, the said persons so convicted were to be forthwith committed to safe custody, to be there kept and detained without bail, until delivered over to such officer or officers belonging to the forces of his Majesty as should be appointed from time to time, to receive such men within every such shire or place respectively to serve as soldiers in any part of his Majesty's dominions beyond the seas. (2) To prevent arms from being concealed, it was next enacted, that if, after the days appointed for delivery, any arms or warlike weapons should be found concealed in any dwelling-house, or in any house or office of whatever description within the limits summoned to deliver up, the tenant or possessor should be deemed the bearer of such concealed arms, and, upon being convicted, should suffer the penalty before mentioned, unless such tenant or possessor should produce sufficient evidence that such arms were so concealed without his connivance or knowledge. (3) To prevent questions touching the legality of the notice, it was declared that the summons, notwithstanding its generality, should be deemed sufficient if it expressed the clan or clans, that were commanded to deliver up their arms, or the lands and limits, the inhabitants of which were to be disarmed, and that it should be a sufficient and legal notice to affix the summons on the door of the parish church or churches of the several parishes within which the lands, the inhabitants whereof were to be disarmed, lay, on any Sunday betwixt the hours of ten in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon, — four days at least before the day fixed for delivering up the arms; and on the market-cross of the head-burgh of the shire or stewartry, eight days before the day so appointed. (4) The lord-lieutenant of the said shires, or the person or persons author-

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ized as aforesaid, or any two or more justices of the peace were authorized to enter into any house within the limits aforesaid, either by day or by night, and to search for and seize arms and warlike weapons. These provisions were unquestionably very severe; but the circumstances of the times rendered them absolutely necessary.

Upon the passing of the disarming act, some of the Highland chiefs held a meeting at Paris, at which they resolved to apply to the Chevalier de St. George, to know whether, in his opinion, they should submit to the new law. James returned an answer under cover to Bishop Atterbury, in which he advised the chiefs rather to submit than run the risk of ruining their followers; but the bishop thought proper to keep up the letter, and having sent off an express to Rome, James was induced to write another letter altogether different from the first, requiring them to resist, by force, the intended attempt of the government to disarm the Highlanders. Meanwhile, the chiefs were apprised of James's original sentiments by a correspondent at Rome, and of the letter which had been sent to Atterbury's care. Unaware of this circumstance, the bishop, on receipt of the second letter, convened the chiefs, and communicated to them its contents; but these being so completely at variance with the information of their correspondent, they insisted upon seeing the first letter, but Atterbury refused in the most positive terms to exhibit it, and insisted upon compliance with the injunctions contained in the second letter. They, thereupon, desired to know what support they were to receive in men, money, and arms; but the bishop told them, that unless they resolved to go to Scotland and take up arms, he would give them no further information than this, that they would be assisted by a

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certain foreign power, whose name he was not at liberty to mention. The chiefs, dissatisfied with the conduct of the bishop, refused to pledge themselves as required, and retired.

After the passing of this act, General Wade, who had made a survey of the Highlands during the summer of 1724, was made commander-in-chief in Scotland, with powers to build forts wherever he pleased. In addition to the forces already in Scotland, troops were sent down from England, and several frigates were appointed to stations on the coast of Scotland, there to wait the general's orders. It was Wade's intention to form a camp at Inverness, preparatory to the disarming of the Highlanders, but he was stopped for a time on his journey north to quell a serious disturbance which had broken out at Glasgow, in consequence of the imposition of the malt-tax.

The great preparations made to carry the disarming act into effect indicated a dread, on the part of the government, that the Highlanders would not deliver up their arms without a struggle. The Chevalier de St. George, deceived as it would appear by the representations of Atterbury, resolved to support the Highlanders, to the effect at least of enabling them to obtain favourable terms from the government. "I find," says James, in a letter to Mr. Lockhart, "they (the Highlanders) are of opinion that nothing less than utter ruin is designed for them, and those on this side are persuaded that the English government will meet with the greatest difficulties in executing their projects, and that the clans will unanimously agree to oppose them to the last, and if thereby circumstances will allow them to do nothing for my service, that they will still, by a capitulation, be able to procure better terms to themselves than they can propose by leaving themselves



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at the government's mercy, and delivering up their arms; and, if so, I am resolved, and I think I owe it to them, to do all in my power to support them, and the distance I am at has obliged me to give my orders accordingly; and nothing in my power shall be wanting to enable them to keep their ground against the government, at least till they can procure good terms for themselves, tho, at the same time, I must inform you that the opposition they propose to make may prove of the greatest advantage to my interest, considering the hopes I have of foreign assistance, which, perhaps, you may hear of even before you receive this letter. I should not have ventured to call the Highlanders together, without a certainty of their being supported, but the great probability there is of it makes me not at all sorry they should take the resolution of defending themselves, and not delivering up their arms, which would have rendered them, in a great measure, useless to their country; and as the designs of the government are represented to me, the laying down of their arms is only to be the forerunner of other methods, that are to be taken to extirpate their race for ever. They are certainly in the right to make the government buy their slavery at as dear a rate as they can. The distance I am at (Rome) and the imperfect accounts I have had of this law (for disarming the Highlanders) have been very unlucky; however, the orders I have sent to France I hope will not come too late, and I can answer for the diligence in the execution of them, which is all I can say to you at present from hence."

A few days after the receipt of this letter, Mr. Lockhart went to Edinburgh, where he found the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Kincardine, two of James's "trustees," to whom he showed the letter, and requested their opinion as to the proposed attempt to resist the

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contemplated measures of the government. These noblemen considered that the attempt would be rash as well as fatal; that the idea of obtaining better terms by a temporary resistance was vain, unless the Highlanders succeeded in defeating the government; but that if they failed, the utter extirpation of their race would certainly follow; that the Highlanders being a body of men of such high value, as well in relation to the interests of the exiled family, as to those of the kingdom, it was by no means reasonable to hazard them upon an uncertainty, for though they should give up their arms, it would be easier to provide them afterward with others, when their services were required, than to repair the loss of their persons; that with regard to foreign assistance, as such undertakings were liable to many accidents, and as the best formed designs often turned out abortive, it was by no means advisable to hazard the Highlanders, who were hated by the government, upon the expectancy of such aid; and that if such foreign powers as could, and were willing to assist, would inquire into the true state of affairs in Scotland, they would find that wherever a feasible attempt should be made by them to restore the exiled family, the Scots would be ready to declare themselves.

This opinion was communicated by Mr. Lockhart to James, and he informed him at the same time that a person of distinction, who had been sent by the Highland Jacobite chiefs to obtain intelligence and advice, had arrived in Edinburgh *incognito*, and had informed Kincardine, who had waited upon him, that the Highlanders had resolved to make a show of submission, by giving up part of their arms under the pretence of delivering up the whole, while their intention was to retain and conceal the best and greater part of them. Kincardine, without giving any opinion on the subject,

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recommended to the gentleman in question, as foreign assistance might be speedily expected, the expediency of putting off the delivery as long as possible, and that as four or five weeks would be consumed before the forms, required by the act, could be complied with, they should retain their arms till the expiration of that period. This proposal was highly relished by the deputy, who departed early the following morning for the Highlands to communicate the plan to his friends and constituents.

The advice given by Hamilton and Eglinton coincided with the views which James, upon being made acquainted with the resolution of the chiefs at Paris, had adopted; and in a letter written to Mr. Lockhart by Colonel Hay, whom he had appointed his secretary of state, and raised to the peerage under the title of Earl of Inverness, he signified his approbation of the advice given by his friends, which he said was entirely agreeable to his own sentiments from the beginning. He stated, moreover, that the orders he had given to assist the Highlanders were only conditional, and in the event only that they themselves should have resolved to oppose the government, and that if the Bishop of Rochester had pressed any of the chiefs at Paris to go to arms, it was more with a view to discover a correspondence which he suspected one of them had carried on independent of the others, than with any real design to induce them to order their followers to make opposition, as that was to have depended as much upon the chiefs at home as upon those abroad.

When James ascertained that the Highlanders were resolved to submit, he withdrew the orders he had given for assisting them, and despatched a trusty messenger to the Highlands to acquaint them of his readiness to support them when a proper occasion offered, and to

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collect information as to the state of the country. Allan Cameron, the messenger in question, arrived in the Highlands in August, and visited the heads of the clans in the interest of James, to whom he delivered the message with which he had been entrusted. It is said that General Wade was aware of his arrival, but it does not appear that any measures were taken to apprehend him. After four months' residence in the Highlands, Cameron ventured on a journey to Edinburgh, where, in the beginning of the year 1726, he held frequent conferences with the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Kincardine, and Lockhart of Carnwath on the subject of his mission and the state of affairs, but nothing of importance was resolved upon at these meetings, and Cameron departed for the continent early in February.

After the suppression of the riots in the west of Scotland, General Wade proceeded to Inverness, where a camp had been formed, to carry the disarming act into execution. At Inverness Wade was waited upon by a body of about 150 gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, headed by Lord Tarbet, Sir Colin Mackenzie of Coul, and Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromarty. These last informed the general that they had come as the representatives of Seaforth's tenants and vassals, who would not come in themselves till they knew how they were to be received; that their rents had for several years been uplifted by Daniel Murdochson, Seaforth's factor or servant, and that they were not able to pay them a second time, but that if they were discharged of these rents, they would pay them in future to the government, deliver up their arms, and live peaceably. Wade, who according to Lockhart was "a good enough tempered man," at once acceded to this request, and informed the deputation, that if the clan performed what had

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been promised, he would endeavour in the next session of Parliament to procure a pardon for Seaforth and all his friends. After being well entertained for two or three days at Inverness, the deputation, accompanied by Wade and a small body of dragoons, went to Castle-bran, where the arms of the clan were delivered up, but not until Murdochson had secreted all those of any value. The Macdonalds of Glengary and Keppoch, the Camerons, the Macdonalds of Skye and Glencoe, the Stewarts of Appin, and others made a similar surrender, but all of them were careful to conceal the best of their arms. "No doubt," says Lockhart to James, "the government will be at pains to magnify and spread abroad their success in disarming the Highlanders, but depend on't, its all a jest; for few or no swords or pistols are or will be surrendered, and only such of their firelocks as are of no value, so that a small recruit of good arms will put them in better state than before. I mention this so expressly that you may contradict reports to the contrary, lest they discourage those from whom you expect foreign aid. I now plainly see that this Highland expedition (whatever might be at first pretended or intended) is now at the bottom a money job. The general has got a great sum of money to pass through his hands for it, and his scheme is to be mighty civil to the Highlanders, and under the colour of his having persuaded them to give up their arms (which the trash they give him will enable him to represent) to make himself pass as an useful man and fit to be continued in Scotland with a good salary. But at the same time, I know likewise that there are some of the government heartily vexed that the Highlanders have made no opposition, hoping, if they had, that in the time of tranquillity they might have extirpated them, whereas, as matters have been managed,



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they will still remain, and be in a capacity to serve you when fair occasion offers."

The extraordinary excitement produced in Scotland by the levying of the malt-tax might have proved dangerous to the government, had the partisans of the Stuarts, assisted by a small foreign force, been in a condition to have taken the field. A new alliance was now proposed between the Cameronians and Highlanders, and negotiations actually entered into for that purpose; but the activity of the government in suppressing the disturbances destroyed for a time any hopes which the Jacobites may have entertained of again embroiling the kingdom in a civil war. They indeed attempted to keep up the resentment of the people against the government, in the expectation that an invasion would be attempted, but neither the court of France nor that of Spain was disposed to embark in an enterprise which would have brought on a general war in Europe.

About this time an event occurred, which, while it tended to create factions amongst the adherents of James, made many of them keep either altogether aloof from any direct management in his affairs, or abstain from entering into any plan of coöperation for his restoration. This was the dismissal of Mar from his post as minister of James at Paris, on the suspicion that he had betrayed the secrets of his master to the British government. From his situation he was intimately acquainted with all the Chevalier's affairs, and knew the name of every person of any note in the three kingdoms who had taken an interest in the restoration of the exiled family, with many of whom he himself had corresponded. The removal, therefore, of such a person from the Jacobite councils could not fail to excite uneasy apprehensions in the minds of those



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who had entrusted him with their confidence, and to make them extremely cautious in again committing themselves by any act, which, if discovered, would place them in jeopardy. To this feeling may be ascribed the great reserve which for several years subsequent to this occurrence the Jacobites observed in their foreign relations, and the want of unity of action which formed so remarkable a characteristic in their subsequent proceedings. As this affair forms an important link in the historical chain which connects the events of the year 1715 with those of 1745, a short account of it is necessary.

During a temporary confinement at Geneva, Mar had obtained a sum of money, whether solicited or not does not appear, from the Earl of Stair, the British ambassador at Paris, without the knowledge of James. In a narrative afterward drawn up by Mar in his own justification, he states, that being in great straits he received this money as a loan from the earl, who was his old friend; but Colonel Hay, in a letter to Mr. Lockhart of the eighth of September, 1725, states that Mar had no occasion for such a loan, as "the king" remitted him considerable supplies to Geneva, where his expense would be trifling, as he was entertained by the town. This matter might have been overlooked, but he, soon thereafter, accepted a pension of £2,000 from the government, over and above the sum of £1,500 which his countess and daughter actually then received by way of jointure and aliment out of the produce of his estate. Mar states that before he agreed to receive this pension he took the advice of General Dillon, a zealous supporter of the interests of the Stuarts, whom he had been accustomed to consult in all matters of importance, and that the general advised him to accept of the offer, as by refusing it the government might

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stop his lady's jointure, and that his estate would be sold and lost for ever to his family; and that as he had been released from his confinement at Geneva on condition that he should not act or take any part against the government of Great Britain during his abode in France, and should return when required to Geneva, that government might insist on his being sent back to Geneva, whence he had been allowed to go to the waters of Bourbon for his health. Mar communicated the proposal also to James, in a letter of third February, 1721, who at once sanctioned his acceptance of the pension, and assured him that his sentiments in regard to him remained unaltered. Notwithstanding this assurance, however, there is every reason to believe that James had begun to suspect his fidelity; and as he could clearly perceive that Mar had already taken his resolution to close with the government, he might consider it his wisest policy to conceal his displeasure, and not to break at once with a man who had so much in his power to injure him and his friends.

Having thus succeeded in their advances to Mar, the government, on receiving information of the conspiracy in which Atterbury was concerned, sent a gentleman to Paris in May, 1722, with a letter to Mar from Lord Carteret. This gentleman received instructions to sound Mar as to his knowledge of the intended plot. On arriving at Paris, the messenger (who, it is understood, was Colonel Churchill) sent a letter to Mar requesting a private interview. Dillon was present when this letter was delivered, and on reading it, Mar says he showed it to Dillon, upon which it was arranged that Mar should instantly call upon the person who had written the letter, and that Dillon should remain in the house till Mar's return, when the object and nature of the interview would be communicated to him.

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On Mar's return he and Dillon consulted together, and they both thought that the incident was a lucky one, as it afforded Mar an opportunity of doing James's affairs a good service by leading the government off the true scent, and thereby prevent further inquiries. They thereupon drew up a letter with that view, to be sent by Mar in answer to Carteret's communication, which, being approved of by another person in the confidence of the Chevalier, was sent by Mar to the bearer of Carteret's letter. Mar immediately sent an account of the affair to James and the Duke of Ormond, and he shortly received a letter from the former, dated eighth June, 1722, in which he expressed himself entirely satisfied with the course pursued by Mar on the occasion. To justify himself still farther, Mar states, that among the vouchers of his exculpation, there was the copy of another letter from James, written by him to one of his agents at Paris, dated the thirteenth of August, same year, wherein he justifies and approves of Mar's conduct, and expresses his regret for the aspersions which had been cast upon the earl about the plot.

Though James thus continued to profess his usual confidence in Mar's integrity, he had ever since he became acquainted with his pecuniary obligations to Stair resolved to withdraw that confidence from him by degrees, and in such a manner as might not be prejudicial to the adherents of the exiled family in Great Britain. But Mar, who, as James observed, had put himself under such engagements that he could not any longer serve him in a public manner, and who, from the nature of these engagements, should have declined all knowledge of James's secrets, continued to meddle with his affairs as formerly, by taking the direction and management of those entrusted to Dillon,

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the confidential agent of James and the English Jacobites. In this way was Mar enabled for several years, when distrusted by James, to compel him in a manner to keep on good terms with him. From the natural timidity of James, and his anxiety to avoid an open breach with Mar, it is difficult to say how long matters might have remained in this awkward state, had not the attention of the Scottish Jacobites been drawn to Mar's pension by the report of the parliamentary committee concerning the conspiracy; and the representations of the Bishop of Rochester respecting Mar's conduct, shortly after his arrival in France, brought matters to a crisis. In the letter last referred to, James thus intimates to Mr. Lockhart the final dismissal of Mar. "I have been always unwilling to mention Mar, but I find myself indispensably engaged at present to let my Scots friends know that I have withdrawn my confidence entirely from him, as I shall be obliged to do from all who may be any ways influenced by him. This conduct is founded on the strongest and most urgent necessity in which my regard to my faithful subjects and servants have the greatest share. What is here said of Mar is not with a view of its being made public, there being no occasion for that, since many years ago he put himself under such engagements that he could not serve me in a public manner, neither has he been publicly employ'd by me."

The charges made by Atterbury against Mar were (1) That about the time he, the bishop, was sent prisoner to the Tower, Mar had written him a letter which was the cause of his banishment. (2) That he had betrayed the secrets of the Chevalier de St. George to the British government, and had entered into a correspondence with them. (3) That he had advised the Chevalier to resign his right to the crown for a pension; and lastly,

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that without consulting James, he drew up and presented a memorial to the Duke of Orleans, containing a plan, which, under the pretence of restoring him, would, if acted upon, have rendered his restoration for ever impracticable.

The grounds on which Atterbury founded the charge against Mar, of being the cause of his banishment, are detailed in the letter from Colonel Hay to Mr. Lockhart before alluded to. It is there stated, that at the time Colonel Churchill met Mar at Paris, when he carried over Lord Carteret's letter, he informed Mar that the British government had intercepted three letters, sent by the same post, to three different persons, supposed to be then at Paris; and that, after being copied they were forwarded, and according to the colonel's information, who arrived at Paris before the post, these letters reached their destination. One of these letters under a fictitious name was designed for Mar, and was duly delivered to him; and though fully aware of the discovery made by the government, he had the imprudence to return an answer, which he addressed to the same fictitious name with which the three letters were signed. In Mar's answer, the bishop's situation at the time, the death of his lady, his illness, his going to his country-house ten miles from London, etc., were so accurately described, that after the imprudent admission of Mrs. Barnes respecting the dog, the government at once fixed upon the bishop as the author of the three letters. There was nothing, however, in the letters on which to ground even a charge of constructive treason; and although Mar was certainly to blame in writing a letter containing such pointed allusions, which he must have been aware would be intercepted at the post office, there is no reason for believing, as insinuated by Atterbury, that he meant to ensnare him.



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As to the charge of having advised James to resign his right to the crown for a pension, Mar refers in his narrative to two letters which he wrote from Geneva to James and his agent, Dillon, on the twentieth of January, 1720, in the former of which he observed, that if James were to apply to the courts of France and Spain, it was probable that, at the approaching congress at Cambray, they might induce the British government to pay him a yearly allowance, which would help him in his difficulties, and the payment of which might be so contrived as neither to affect his honour nor prejudice his interest. The plan he proposed for effecting this was, that the money should not be paid directly to James himself, but should come through the hands of some foreign princes, who might be prevailed upon so to interpose as if James himself had no concern in the matter. The letter to Dillon was couched in the same strain, with this addition that the proposal should be made to the Regent Orleans; but in neither of these letters was the most distant hint given, that James was to resign his right to the crown.

To understand the nature of the last charge against Mar, that he laid the scheme before the regent of France with a design to ruin James, Mar refers to the plan itself for his justification. The expulsion of the Stuarts from the British throne had been always looked upon by the French court as an event which, by dividing the nation into rival factions, would enable France to humble and weaken an ancient and formidable rival. To encourage the Jacobites and Tories in their opposition to the new dynasty, and to embroil the nation in a civil war, the French ministry repeatedly promised to aid them in any attempts they might make to overturn the government; but true to the line of policy they had laid down for themselves, of allowing the



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opposing parties in the state to weaken each other's strength in their contest for ascendancy, they sided with the weaker party only to prolong the struggle, in the hope that, by thus keeping alive the spirit of discontent, France might be enabled to extend her power, and carry into effect her designs of conquest.

To remove the objections which such a policy opposed to the restoration of James, Mar proposed that, upon such event taking place, Scotland and Ireland should be restored to their ancient state of independence, and protected in their trade, and thereby enabled, as they would be inclined, to support "the king in such a manner as he'd be under no necessity of entering into measures contrary to his inclinations to gratify the caprices, and allay the factions of his English subjects." He also proposed that a certain number of French forces should remain in Britain after James was restored, till he had modelled and established the government on this footing, and that five thousand Scots and as many Irish troops should be lent to the French king, to be kept by him in pay for a certain number of years. Mar was fully aware that such a scheme would be highly unpopular in England, on which account he says, that although he had long ago formed it, he took no steps therein during the life of Cardinal Dubois, whom he knew to be particularly attached to the existing government of Britain; but that obstacle being removed, he laid it before the regent of France, who, he says, he had reason to believe, received it with approbation, as he sealed it up, and addressed it to the Duke of Bourbon, and recommended it to his care. To excuse himself for laying the scheme before the Duke of Orleans without the Chevalier's knowledge, he states that he did so to prevent James, in case of the scheme being discovered, being blamed by those who,

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for particular reasons, would be displeased at it; but that immediately after the delivery he acquainted James thereof, and sent him a copy of it, and at same time represented to him the absolute necessity of keeping it secret. Notwithstanding of this injunction, Colonel Hay sent a copy of it to the Bishop of Rochester, and Mar attributes the bad feeling which Atterbury afterward displayed towards him, to the proposal he made for restoring Scotland to her independence.

The memorial was presented by Mar to the Duke of Orleans in September, 1723; but so little secrecy was observed, that, in the month of January following, a statement appeared in the public newspapers, that a certain peer, then at Paris, had laid a plan before the regent for restoring the exiled family. Though the British government must have been aware, or at all events must have suspected, after such a notification, that Mar was the author of the scheme, his pension was still continued, and they even favoured him still more by allowing the family estate, which was exposed to sale, to fall again into the hands of the family on favourable terms.

In reference to that part of Mar's justification, which relates to this affair, Colonel Hay, whom Mar accuses in his narrative of a design to ruin his character, remarks as follows: "Now, I am come to say something about a memoriall, of which, in the abstract of the narrative, it is said a copy of it was sent to the king (the Chevalier de St. George) after it had been presented to the duke of Orleans, yet the king never acknowledged the receipt of it. Mar does me justice in saying that I approved of certain articles relating to Scotland, though I did not at the time believe them to be of so great importance, as he pretended they were, neither were they represented as the foundation of a scheme, which, had the

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king entered into it, must have put a stop to his restoration for ever, without which these articles could be of no use. I disapproved of the memoriall from the beginning, because, as I told Mar when I first saw it, that I thought the scheme impracticable; that England was not to be conquered with 6000 foot souldiers, or the king's friends in England to be led blindly into their own ruin, with sevrall other reasons I need not repeat; and tho Mar pretends that this was contrived for the advantage of Scotland, I reallie cannot see what benefite Irelands being more powerfull than England woud bring to us, and as I could not perceive at the time that Mar could have any reason to believe that Orleans was any wayes disposed to act for the king, I treated the presenting of it, by the king's minister, then at Paris, as a very imprudent act, since I thought ther was a greater likelihood of Orleans doing a service to his strict ally, Hanover, by discovering it, than of his entering into it: however, my caution in divulging it was very great, and I thought it of such consequence, that none entrusted by the king should at least be the first to mention it; that I did not open my lips about it to any soul living during my absence from Rome, nor after I returned, till I knew Mar shewd some particular articles in it to some people at Paris, informing them that the memoriall, because it was for the interest of Scotland, was the reason of his disgrace. Then, indeed, when I found the memoriall to be no more a secret, I thought it necessary to send a true copy of it, that so were a false one handed about, a true copy might be produced: and it does not consist with the king's knowledge that the duke of Orleans sealed up the memoriall, and recommended it to the duke of Bourbon, neither does it appear naturall, since Orleans dyed suddenlie, left his papers in the greatest confusion, was not in good

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terms with his successor at the time of his death, and could nowayes foresee that he was to succeed him in the ministry."

On reviewing the whole circumstances of Mar's conduct, evolved by Atterbury's charges, it must be admitted that his justification is far from being complete; but though there exist strong suspicions of his fidelity, there are not sufficient data on which to found a charge of wilful and deliberate treachery. From the position in which he placed himself as a debtor of Stair, and a pensioner of the British government, he could no longer be trusted with safety by his Jacobite colleagues, and as he had come under an obligation, as a condition of his pension, not to act in behalf of the Stuarts, he was bound in honour to have abstained from all farther interference in their affairs; but for reasons only known to himself, he continued to act as if no alteration of his relations with the exiled family had taken place since he was first entrusted by them. Selfish in his disposition, and regardless whether the Chevalier de St. George or the Elector of Hanover wore the crown, provided his ambition was gratified, it is probable that, without harbouring any intention to betray, he wished to preserve an appearance of promoting the interests of the Stuarts, in order that the compact which he had entered into with the British government, might, in the event of a restoration of that family, form no bar to his advancement under a new order of things; but whatever were his views or motives, his design, if he entertained any such as has been supposed, was frustrated by his disgrace in 1725.

The breach with Mar was looked upon by some of the Jacobites as a rash act on the part of the Chevalier, and they considered that he had been sacrificed to gratify Colonel Hay, between whom and Mar an irrec-

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oncilable difference had for some time existed. This opinion had a pernicious influence upon the councils of the Chevalier, and to the rupture with Mar may be attributed the *denouement* of an unhappy difference between James and his consort, which, for a time, fixed the attention of all the European courts.

In the year 1720 the Chevalier de St. George had espoused the Princess Clementina, granddaughter of John Sobieski, King of Poland, who had borne him two sons, viz., Charles Edward, celebrated for his exploits in 1745, and Henry Benedict, afterward known as Cardinal York. Prince Charles was placed under the tuition of one Mrs. Sheldon, who, it is said, obtained a complete ascendancy over the Princess Clementina. As alleged by the partisans of Colonel Hay, she was entirely devoted to Mar, and served him as a spy in the family. To counteract the rising influence of Hay, she is represented to have incited the princess against him to such a degree, as to render the whole household a scene of constant disturbance. But whatever may have been the conduct of Mrs. Sheldon, there is good reason for believing that the cause of irritation proceeded entirely from the behaviour of Hay and his lady, who appear not to have treated the princess with the respect due to her rank, and who, from the sway they appear to have had over the mind of her husband, indulged in liberties which did not become them.

To relieve herself from the indignities which she alleged she suffered, the princess resolved to retire into a convent, of which resolution the Chevalier first received notice from a confidant of the princess, who also informed him that nothing but the dismissal of Colonel Hay from his service would induce her to alter her resolution. The princess afterward personally notified her determination to her husband, who remon-



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strated with her upon the impropriety of a step which would prejudice them in the eyes of their friends, and make their enemies triumph; but she remained inflexible. In a memoir which the Chevalier drew up in relation to this subject in his own justification, he asserts that he afterward ascertained, from a person of great worth and consideration, who had endeavoured to prevail upon the princess to forego her resolution, that her displeasure was not confined to "Lord Inverness," but that it also extended to "Lord Dunbar" (a title which he had recently conferred on Mr. James Murray), who had been appointed tutor to the young princess, "under pretence that the prince's religion was in danger while he had the care of them."

Finding the Chevalier fully determined to retain Colonel Hay in his service, the princess made preparations for carrying her resolution into effect; and, accordingly, on the morning of Thursday, the fifteenth day of November, 1725, under the pretence of taking an airing in her carriage, she drove off to the convent of St. Cecilia, into which she retired, without taking any notice of a long letter, by way of remonstrance, which her husband had written her on the eleventh. In a letter which she afterward wrote to her sister, explaining the cause of her retirement, and which, it is understood, was intended as an answer to her husband's memoir, she says, "Mr. Hay and his lady are the cause that I am retired into a convent. I received your letter in their behalf, and returned you an answer only to do you a pleasure and to oblige the king; but it all has been to no purpose, for instead of making them my friends, all the civilities I have shown them have only served to render them the more insolent. Their unworthy treatment of me has in short reduced me to such an extremity, and I am in such a cruel situa-



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tion, that I had rather suffer death than live in the king's palace with persons that have no religion nor conscience, and who, not content with having been the authors of so fatal a separation betwixt the king and me, are continually teasing him every day to part with his best friends and his most faithful subjects. This at length determined me to retire into a convent, there to spend the rest of my days in lamenting my misfortunes, after having been fretted for six years together by the most mortifying indignities and affronts that can be imagined."

The Chevalier was anxious that his friends should form a favourable opinion of the course he had adopted in resisting the demand of his wife; and, accordingly, on the morning after her departure, he assembled all his household, and explained to them fully the different steps he had taken to prevent the extraordinary proceeding of the princess. He also entered into a justification of his own conduct, and concluded by assuring them, that it should be his principal care to educate his two sons in such a manner as might contribute one day to the happiness of the people he expected to govern. With the same view, he immediately despatched copies of the memoir, and of the two letters he had written to the princess, to Mr. Lockhart, to be shown to his friends in Scotland; but as the memoir and letters had been made public, copies of them were publicly hawked through the streets of London and Edinburgh, with a scurrilous introduction, several weeks before Mr. Lockhart received his communication. This was apparently done with the approbation of the government, as the magistrates of Edinburgh compelled the porters of the city to cry the papers through the streets. At first, the Jacobites imagined that these documents were forgeries got up by the government,

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to make the Jacobite cause contemptible in the eyes of the people; but they were soon undeceived, and great was their consternation when they found that the papers in question were genuine.

The court of Rome seemed to approve of the Chevalier's conduct in refusing to remove Hay; but when it was understood that the removal of Murray, the young princes' governor, was considered by their mother even of more importance than the dismissal of Hay, the Pope sent a message to James, intimating that if Murray were removed and Mrs. Sheldon restored to favour, a reconciliation might be effected with the princess; that, however, he would not insist on Mrs. Sheldon being taken back, but that he could not approve of nor consent to Murray being about the prince. The Chevalier did not relish such interference, and returned for answer that he had no occasion for the Pope's advice, and that he did not consider his consent necessary in an affair which related to the private concerns of his family. As James was the pensioner of his holiness, the answer may be considered rather uncourteous, but the Chevalier looked upon such meddling as an insult which his dignity could not brook. The Pope, however, renewed his application to bring about a reconciliation, and with such earnestness, that James became so uneasy as to express a wish to retire from his dominions. By the efforts, however, it is believed, of the princess's friends, aided by the repeated remonstrances of a respectable portion of the Jacobites, the Chevalier at length reluctantly dismissed Hay from his service. According to Mr. Lockhart, Hay and his wife had obtained such a complete ascendancy over the Chevalier, that they had the direction of all matters, whether public or domestic, and taking advantage of the confidence which he reposed in them, they instilled into his mind

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unfavourable impressions of his best friends, and by insinuating that the princess, and every person that did not truckle to them, were factious, and that their complaints against the colonel and his lady proceeded from a feeling of disrespect to himself, his temper became by degrees soured towards his wife. To escape from the insolence of these favourites, the princess, as has been seen, embraced, for a time, a conventual life; and while some of the Chevalier's adherents, who had lost their estates in his service, left his court in disgust, others were ordered away. It was currently reported at the time that Mrs. Hay was the king's mistress, and that jealousy on the part of the Princess Clementina was the cause of the rupture; but persons who had ample opportunities of observation could observe no impropriety, and the princess herself never made any such accusation. The pertinacity with which James clung to his favourites greatly injured his affairs, and lessened his character in public opinion.

The death of George the First, which took place on Sunday, the twenty-second day of June, 1727, while on his journey to Hanover, raised anew the hopes of the Chevalier. He was at Bologna when this intelligence reached him, and so anxious was he to be nearer England to watch the progress of events, and to be ready to avail himself of the services of his friends in Britain to effect his restoration, that he left Bologna privately for Lorraine, the day after the news was brought him of King George's death, although the princess, who had just left the convent by the advice of her friends, was at the time on her way from Rome to Bologna to join him. The journey of the princess being publicly known, the Chevalier availed himself of the circumstance to conceal his real design, by giving out that he had left Bologna to meet her. On arriving at Nancy, the Chevalier des-

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patched couriers to Vienna, Madrid, and Paris, announcing the object of his journey, and at the same time sent a messenger with a letter to Mr. Lockhart, who, in consequence of a warrant being issued by the British government for his apprehension, had a few months before taken refuge on the continent, and was then residing at Liege. This letter, which is dated twenty-second July, 1727, embodying as it does the views of the Chevalier, the state of his circumstances, and his opinion of passing events, possesses considerable interest. It is as follows:—

“As soon as I heard of the elector of Hanover’s death, I thought it incumbent on me to put myself in a condition of profiting of what might be the consequences of so great an event, which I was sensible I could never do at so great a distance as Italy; and that made me take the resolution of leaving that country out of hand and drawing near to England, that I might be in readiness, without loss of time, to profit of any commotion that might ensue in Great Britain, or of any alteration that might happen in the present system in Europe on Hanover’s death. At the same time that I left Italy I despatched expresses to Vienna, Madrid, and Paris, and have already received the return of that to Vienna, by which it is very plain that the emperor would be very desirous that I could be in a condition of making an attempt without any foreign force, and would not even obstruct my own passing privately thro his dominions for that effect, tho his ministers declare at the same time that since the preliminaries are signed he cannot give me any assistance.

“The answers from France and Spain are not yet come, but when they do, ’tis to be expected they will not be more favourable, so that for the present no foreign assistance can be expected; but with all that, the pres-



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ent conjuncture appears so favourable in all its circumstances that had I only consulted my own inclinations, I should certainly out of hand have crossed the seas, and seen at any rate what I could do for my own and my subjects delivery; but as on this occasion I act for them as well as myself, and cannot hope without their concurrence to succeed in what I may undertake in our mutual behalf, I find myself under the necessity of making no further steps without their advice.

" 'Tis true the disadvantages I lye under are great and many; I have but a small stock of mony, scarce sufficient to transport what few arms I have and what officers I may get to follow me on this occasion. I'm sensible that it is next to impossible that a concert should be established amongst my friends at home, such as would be sufficient for a rising in arms in my favor before my arrivall, and by what is said before, the little hopes of foreign assistance will be sufficiently seen; but with all this, many arguments may be brought to authorise ane undertaking which at first sight might appear rash. Our countrie is now (whatever the outward appearance may be) in great confusion and disorder, the people have had time to feel the weight of a foreign yoke, and are nowayes favorably inclined towards the present elector of Hanover. That concert, vigor, and unanimity which does not precede my crossing the seas, may attend and follow such ane event, and if the chief great powers in Europe are not all my declared friends, there is not one that is my enemy, and that has not a particular interest to wish me on the throne; and were I in person in Britain at the head of even a small number of my own subjects, it might naturally alter very much the present system of some or other of them during the time of the congress (that about to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle), but should it once meet, and affairs be adjusted

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there on the foundation of the quadruple alliance, foreign affairs will take quite another face, and in all probability woud long remain so, whilst the present elector of Hanover and his son might have time to ingratiate themselves with the English nation; so that all put together it must be concluded that if the present conjuncture is slip'd, it cannot be expected that wee ever can have so favorable a one for acting by ourselves, and that wee run the risk of allowing the generall affairs of Europe to be less favorable to us than they are at present; so that whatever is not absolutely desperate ought certainly to be undertaken, and the sooner the better.

“I desire therefore you may think seriouslie on this matter, and let me have your opinion as soon as possible, and if my going into England be not adviseable, whether my going to the Highlands of Scotland might not be found proper.” To this letter is appended the following postscript in James's own handwriting. “The contents of this will show you the confidence I have in you, and I expect you will let me know by the bearer (Allan Cameron) your advice and opinion, particularly on this important occasion.”

From Cameron Mr. Lockhart was surprised to learn that the Chevalier, notwithstanding the certainty he was under that he could look for no foreign aid, and that his friends, both in Scotland and England, had made no preparations to receive him, was not only inclined, but seemed even resolved, to repair to the Highlands of Scotland, and there raise the standard of insurrection, and that Colonel Hay, whom he had so lately discarded, was one of his counsellors on the occasion. As Cameron, who had visited the Highlands some time before, and was well aware of the almost insuperable difficulties which opposed themselves to the contemplated step,

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seemed to approve of the Chevalier's design, Mr. Lockhart expressed his wonder that one who knew the state of the Highlands so well, and the determination generally of the Highlanders not to take the field again till they saw England actually engaged, could advise his master to risk his person, and expose the country and his friends to certain destruction. He observed, that there were indeed some persons who would venture their all in any attempt headed by the Chevalier in person, but as matters then stood, the number of such persons would be few, and that the great majority of those that might be expected to join him would consist of idle persons, actuated solely by the hopes of plunder, who would abandon him eventually to the mercy of the government troops that would be poured into the Highlands, and that, under the pretence of punishing the few who had taken up arms, they would ravage the country and cut off the inhabitants, for doing which the government only wanted such a handle.

In accordance with these sentiments, Mr. Lockhart represented in his answer to the Chevalier's letter, that the design he contemplated was one of the greatest importance, and though it was very proper for him to put himself in a condition to avail himself of any favourable circumstances that might occur, yet that appearances did not warrant such expectations; that the people of England seemed to have forgotten all the grievances under which they had laboured during the late reign, in hope of a better order of things, and that until they found themselves disappointed, he could expect nothing from them; that with regard to such of the people of Scotland as were favourably disposed, they could not possibly do anything without being previously provided with many material things they stood in need of, and that before these could be supplied, many diffi-

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culties had to be surmounted and much time would be lost, during which preparations would be made on all hands to crush them; that although it would be of advantage to strike a blow before the government had time to strengthen themselves at home and abroad, yet the attempt was not advisable without necessary precautions and provisions to ensure its success, as without these such an attempt would be desperate, and might ruin the cause for ever; that no man living would be happier than he (Mr. Lockhart) to see the dawning of a fair day, but when every point of the compass was black and cloudy, he could not but dread very bad weather, and such as could give no encouragement to a traveller to proceed on his voyage, and might prove the utter ruin of himself and attendants. This judicious advice was not thrown away upon the Chevalier, who at once laid aside his design of going to Scotland, and retired to Avignon, where he proposed to reside under the protection of the Pope; but his stay at Avignon was short, being obliged to leave that place in consequence, it is believed, of the representations of the French government to the court of Rome. He returned to Italy.

END OF VOLUME IV.

## NOTES

1. " We, Lord James Murray, Patrick Stewart of Ballechen, Sir John M'Lean, Sir Donald M'Donald, Sir Ewen Cameron, Glengarie, Benbecula, Sir Alexander MacLean, Appin, Enveray, Keppoch, Glencoe, Strowan, Calochele, Lieut.-Col. M'Gregor, Bara, Large, M'Naughten, do hereby bind and oblige ourselves, for his Majesty's service and our own safeties, to meet at the day of September next, and bring along with us fencible men. That is to say, Lord James Murray and Ballechen Sir John M'Lean 200, Sir Donald M'Donald 200, Sir Ewen Cameron 200, Glengarie 200, Benbecula 200, Sir Alexander M'Lean 100, Appin 100, Enveray 100, Keppoch 100, Lieut.-Col. M'Gregor 100, Calochele 50, Strowan 60, Bara 50, Glencoe 50, M'Naughten 50, Large 50; but in case any of the rebels shall assault or attack any of the above-named persons betwixt the date hereof and the said day of rendezvous, we do all solemnly promise to assist one another to the utmost of our power, as witness these presents, signed by us at the castle of Blair, the 24th of August, 1689 years. — Al. Robertson, D. M'Neil, Alex. M'Donald, Do. M'Gregor, Alex. M'Donell, D. M'Donald, D. M'D. of Benbecula, Al. M'Donald, Tho. Farq'rson, Jo. M'Leane, E. Cameron of Lochiel, Al. Stuart." — *Records of Parliament*.

Seven days before the date of this bond, these associates, and other friends, sent the following characteristic letter to Mackay, in answer to a friendly invitation from him to lay down their arms: —

" Birse, 17th August, 1689.

" SIR: — We received your letter from Strathbogy, and we saw that you wrote to Brigadier Cannan from St. Johnstoun, to which we give a civil return, for by telling that you support yourselves by fictions and stories (a thing known all the world over), is no railing. The Christian means (as you say in your last) you make use of to advance the good cause by, is evident to all the world, and the

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argument you use to move us to address your government is consequential to the whole; for instead of telling us what good Christians, men of honour, good subjects, and good neighbours ought to do, you tell us in both your letters, that his Majesty has hot wars in Ireland, and cannot in haste come to us, which, though it were as true as we know it is not, is only an argument from safety and interest. And that you may know the sentiments of men of honour, we declare to you and all the world, we scorn your usurper, and the indemnities of his government; and to save you farther trouble by your frequent invitations, we assure you that we are satisfied our king will take his own time and way to manage his dominions and punish his rebels; and although he should send no assistance to us at all, we will die with our swords in our hands before we fail in our loyalty and sworn allegiance to our sovereign. Judge, then, what effect Duke Hamilton's letter has upon us; but you have got an honourable father for this story from Ireland, and although we can better tell you how matters go in Ireland, and that we pity those on whom such stories have influence, yet we have no orders to offer conditions to any rebels; we allow them and his grace to believe on and take your measures by your success, till his Majesty's farther orders. Sir, We thank you for the good meaning of your invitation (though we are confident you had no hope of success). And we will shortly endeavour to give you a requital — and those of us who live in islands have already seen and defied the Prince of Orange his frigates. We are, Sir, your affectionate and humble servants. Jo. MacLeane, E. Cameron of Lochiel, C. M'Kenzie, D. Macdonald, John Grant of Balnadaloch, Pa. Steuart, J. M'Nachtane, Alexr. M'Donald, A. M'Nachtan, Jo. Cameron, Tho. Farqrson, H. M'Lean of Lochbuye, Alexr. M'Donell, D. M'D. of Benbecula, R. MacNeill of Bara, D. M'Neill, Ra. M'Donald, J. M'Donald, Alexr. MacLaine. We have returned your letter from Duke Hamilton, because you have more use for it than we." — *Parliamentary Records*.

2. Mackay's account says, "six companies of Grant's regiment, making about eight hundred men," — an evident error.

3. Shaw (History of Moray) says that above a hundred of Buchan's men were killed, and about sixty made prisoners, who were found in the castle of Lethindie and the mill, and he adds, as a thing deserving of remark, that "Colonel Macdonald of Keppoch, who was ever keen for plunder, had never once fought for his king, would not encamp with the other rebels, but with his men quartered at Garvlin, half a mile distant, and thereby escaped without loss."



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4. "His mastership (of Forbes) understanding the word of command, wheel, better than advance, turned the battle into a race, and won; for he was first at Aberdeen, and alarmed the town with a frightful outcry, 'The enemy, the enemy's coming.'" — *Memoirs of Dundee*.

### 5. *Colonel Hill's Order to Lieut.-Col. James Hamilton*

"FORT WILLIAM, 12th Feb., 1692.

"SIR: — You are, with four hundred of my regiment, and the four hundred of my Lord Argyle's regiment under the command of Major Duncanson, to march straight to Glenco, and there put in due execution the orders you have received from the commander-in-chief. Given under my hand at Fort William, the 12th February 1692.

"J. HILL.

"*To Lieut.-Col. James Hamilton.*"

### *Order from Lieut.-Col. Hamilton to Major Robert Duncanson*

"BALLECHYLLS, 12th Feb., 1692.

"SIR: — Pursuant to the commander-in-chief and my colonel's order to me for putting in execution the king's commands against those rebels of Glenco, wherein you with the party of the Earl of Argyle's regiment under your command, are to be concerned; you are therefore forthwith to order your affair so, as that the several posts already assigned you be by you and your several detachments faln in activeness precisely by five of the clock to-morrow morning, being Saturday; at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this regiment from the other places. It will be most necessary you secure well those avenues on the south side, that the old fox, nor none of his cubbs get away. The orders are, that none be spared of the sword, nor the government troubled with prisoners; which is all until I see you from,

"Sir,

"Your most humble Servant,

"JAMES HAMILTOUNE.

"Please to order a guard to secure the ferry, and boats there; and the boats must be all on this side the ferry after your men are over.

"For their Majesty's service.

"*To Major Robert Duncanson of the Earl of Argyle's Regt.*"

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### *Order from Major Duncanson to Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon*

12th Feb., 1692.

"SIR: — You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels the Macdonalds of Glenco, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have a special care that the old fox and his sons do not escape your hands; you are to secure all the avenues that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five of the clock precisely; and by that time, or very shortly after it, I will strive to be at you with a stronger party. If I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me but to fall on. This is by the king's speciall commands, for the good and safety of the countrey, that these miscreants be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without fear or favour, or you may expect to be dealt with as one not true to king or government, nor as man fit to carry commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe this with my hand at Ballychylls, the 12th February, 1692.

"ROBERT DUNCANSON."

6. The following extraordinary anecdote is given by General Stewart in reference to the punishment which, in the opinion of the Highlanders, — an opinion in perfect accordance with the Decalogue, — awaits the descendants of the oppressor. "The belief that punishment of the cruelty, oppression, or misconduct of an individual, descended as a curse on his children to the third and fourth generation, was not confined to the common people. All ranks were influenced by it, believing that if the curse did not fall upon the first, or second generation, it would inevitably descend upon the succeeding. The late Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon retained this belief through a course of thirty years' intercourse with the world, as an officer of the 42d regiment, and of Marines. He was grandson of the laird of Glenlyon, who commanded the military at the massacre of Glenco; and who lived in the laird of Glenco's house, where he and his men were hospitably received as friends, and entertained a fortnight before the execution of his orders. He was playing at cards with the family when the first shot was fired, and the murderous scene commenced. Colonel Campbell was an additional captain in the 42d regiment in 1748, and was put on half pay. He then entered the Marines, and in 1762 was major, with the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, and commanded eight hundred of his corps at the Havannah. In 1771, he was ordered

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to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court-martial on a soldier of Marines, condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent, but the whole ceremony of the execution was to proceed until the criminal was upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive the volley. It was then he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, and the clergyman had left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party were looking with intense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand into his pocket for the reprieve, and in pulling out the packet, the white handkerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead.

"The paper dropped through Colonel Campbell's fingers, and clapping his hand to his forehead, he exclaimed, 'The curse of God and of Glenco is here, I am an unfortunate ruined man.' He desired the soldiers to be sent to the barracks, instantly quitted the parade, and soon afterward retired from the service. This retirement was not the result of any reflection or reprimand on account of this unfortunate affair, as it was known to be entirely accidental. The impression on his mind, however, was never effaced. Nor is the massacre and the judgment, which the people believe has fallen on the descendants of the principal actors in this tragedy, effaced from their recollection. They carefully note, that while the family of the unfortunate gentleman who suffered is still entire, and his estate preserved in direct male succession to his posterity, this is not the case with the family, posterity, and estates of those who were the principals, promoters, and actors in this black affair."

The same author, to illustrate the force of principle, when founded on a sense of honour and its consequent influence, relates another anecdote in reference to this massacre, which also deserves to be here repeated. When the army of Prince Charles, in the ranks of which were Macdonald of Glenco, the descendant of the murdered chief, and all his followers, lay at Kirkliston in the year 1745, near the seat of the Earl of Stair, the grandson of Secretary Dalrymple, who took such a prominent part in the massacre, the prince, anxious to save the house and property of Lord Stair, and to remove from his followers all excitement to revenge, but at the same time not comprehending their true character, proposed that the Glenco men should be marched to a distance from Lord Stair's house and

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parks, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had had in the order for extirpating the whole clan should now excite a spirit of revenge. When the proposal was communicated to the Glenco men, they declared that, if that was the case, they must return home. If they were considered so dishonourable as to take revenge on an innocent man, they were not fit to remain with honourable men, nor to support an honourable cause; and it was not without much explanation, and great persuasion, that they were prevented from marching away the following morning.

7. Of this extraordinary personage, whose character has been represented in various and contrary points of view, by a host of writers, the Duke of Berwick, who knew him well, thus writes: "No prince was ever so little known as this monarch. He has been represented as a man not only cruel and false, but difficult of access. I have frequently had the honour of audiences from him, and have been very familiarly admitted to his presence; and I can affirm that his pride was only in appearance. He was born with an air of majesty which struck every one so much that nobody could approach him without being seized with awe and respect; but, so soon as you spoke to him, he softened his countenance, and put you quite at ease. He was the most polite man in his kingdom, and his answers were accompanied with so many obliging expressions, that, if he granted your request, the obligation was doubled by the manner of conferring it; and, if he refused, you could not complain." — *Memoires*.

8. It is presumed this is the letter alluded to in a conversation between Lockhart of Carnwath and Captain Dougall Campbell, who is represented by him as "a person of great worth and loyalty, and a bosome friend of Argyle's." "Being with me (says Lockhart) at my country house, he (Campbell) askt me if I heard Argyle blam'd for having received and given no answer to a letter writt to him by the king whilst he was at Perth. I told him I had, but could not agree with those who censured him, for I had such an abhorrence of breach of trust, that had I been the duke's adviser, it should have been to doe as he did; for tho there was nothing I so much desired as to see him engaged in the king's cause, I wisht it done in a way consistent with his honour. Captain Campbell smiled and told me, he was to acquaint me of a secret which he must previously have my solemn word I would communicate to none, which he had given when it was revealed to him, having however obtained liberty afterward to speak of it to me. After giving him the assurance he demanded, he told me that the letter was not delivered to the duke, for

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in his late Highland progress he saw it and another to Lord Isla in the hands of the person to whose care they were committed (but who that person was he would not tell me), who receiving them unseal'd, did not, after perusal, think it for the king's service to deliver them, that to the duke being writt in a style by no means to be approved of; 'and, indeed,' added Campbell, 'when I read them, I was entirely of the same mind, and could not but think that Mar or some other person, with a view of rather widening than healing the breaches, had prevail'd with the king to write after that manner.' The letter to Isla was writt as to a man of business, insisting on the unhappy state of Scotland, and that nothing but a dissolution of the union by the king's restoration could prevent the utter ruin of that country. That to the duke did invite him to return to his loyalty and duty, threatening him, if he neglected, with revenge and the utter extirpation of his family, for what he and his predecessors had done in this and the last century. I do not pretend to narrate the precise words of this letter, nor did Campbell mention them as such to me; however, I have narrated what he said was the aim and purport of the letter." — *Lockhart Papers*.

9. What follows is in the Chevalier's own handwriting. The original document is in the Fingask family; of course, it had never been delivered to the duke.

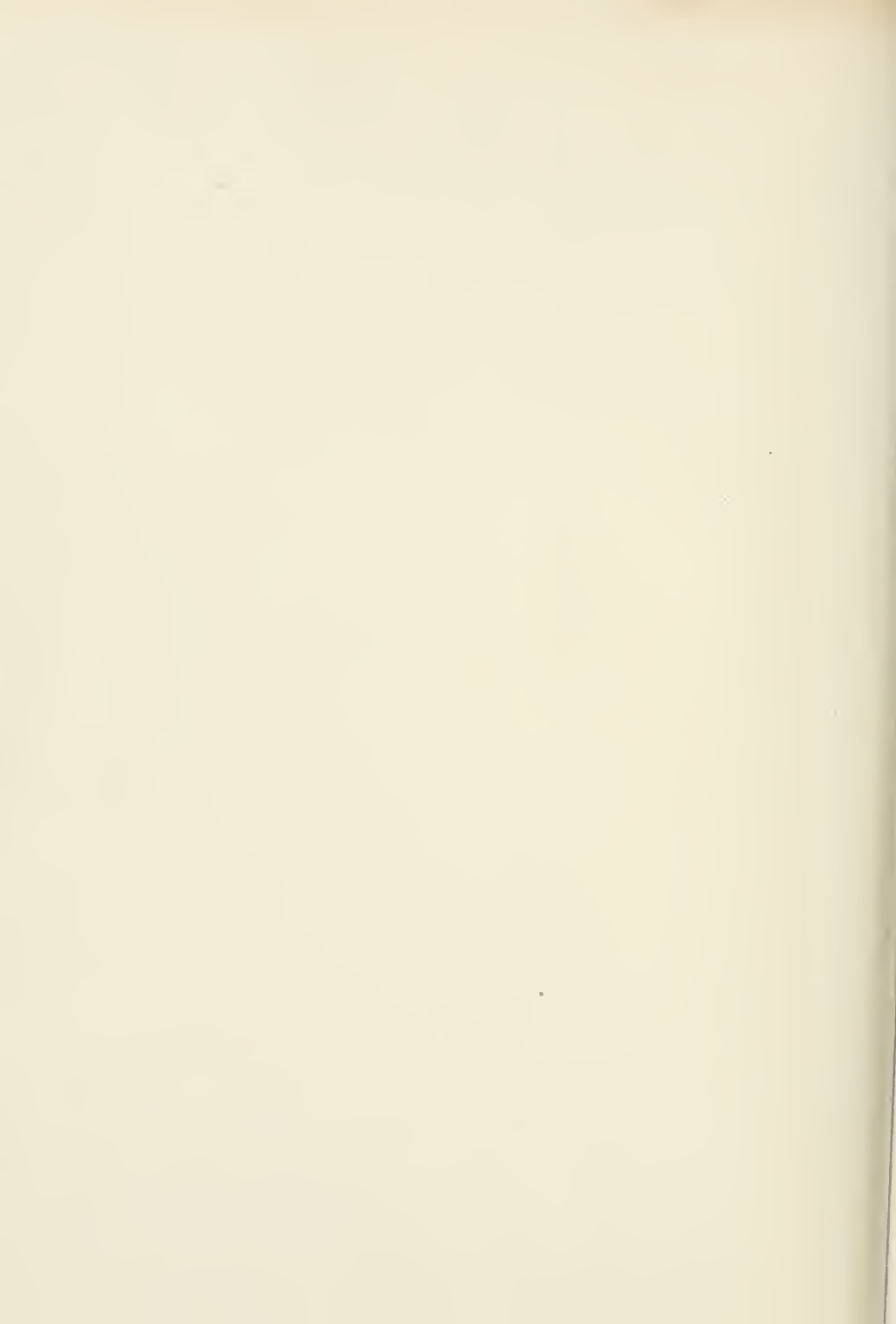














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